THE STORY OF AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

1824-1924

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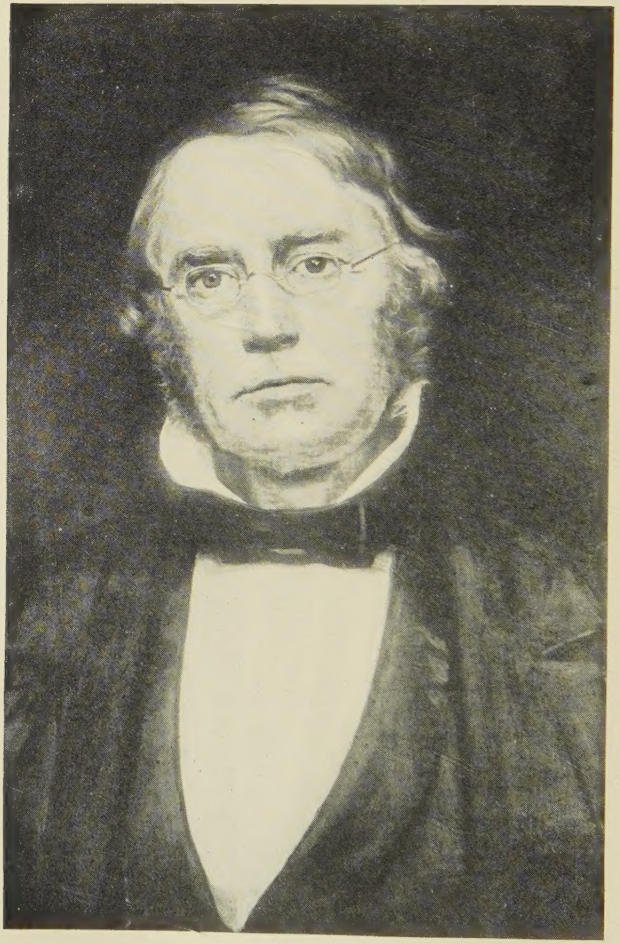

SAMUEL BOWLES
FIRST EDITOR OF THE *REPUBLICAN*
Founder of the *Weekly Republican* in 1824

THE STORY
OF AN
INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

BY

RICHARD HOOKER

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF THE

Springfield Republican

1824-1924

New York
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1924

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TO THE MEMORY OF

SAMUEL BOWLES

THIRD EDITOR OF THE *Republican*

WHO, THROUGH ALL HIS DAYS, WAS

VALIANT-FOR-TRUTH

PREFACE

Each year requests for material on the history of the *Springfield Republican* come to its publishers from widely separated points. They are sent by professors, teachers and students of journalism in universities, colleges, and high schools, and by clubs and civic organizations.

Hitherto the available material concerning the *Republican* has been contained in "The Life and Times of Samuel Bowles," by George S. Merriam, published in 1885 and now out of print. That brilliant two-volume biography carried the history of the paper down to 1878, the year in which Samuel Bowles, the second editor, died. But it dealt only in an introductory manner with the history of the paper from 1824—the year in which the first Samuel Bowles founded the *Republican* as a weekly —to 1844 when, at the urging of his son, the *Daily Republican* was founded.

Since the death of the third Samuel Bowles in 1915 there has been a demand for a history of the *Republican* covering his fruitful and courageous service, as well as that of his father and grandfather. The hundredth anniversary of the first issue seems to offer the appropriate occasion for such a publication.

The material for this book has been gathered chiefly from the files of the paper. Second to these, the most useful source of information has been Merriam's biography. Among other books which have been found most helpful are Solomon Bulkley Griffin's "People and Poli-

tics"; Professor James Melvin Lee's "History of American Journalism"; Henry Watterson's "Marse Henry"; "The Evening Post; A Century of Journalism," by Allan Nevins; "Some Newspapers and Newspaper Men," by O. G. Villard. Mention also should be made of "American Political History," by Alexander Johnston and James Albert Woodburn, which has been found particularly useful in establishing the political background of the *Republican's* early years. Acknowledgment is due to Clifton Johnson for invaluable aid in preparation of the manuscript.

A history of an institution written, as this has been, by one of its members, cannot hope to be regarded as impartial, however close the adherence to recorded fact and publicly expressed opinion. But it may hope to interpret some things of which there can be no formal record and the significance of which no disinterested historian could understand.

The author is conscious of the omission, necessary if this book is to be of convenient proportions, of the names of a great company of loyal workers who have helped to make the *Republican.* An equal lack, although one which could not be repaired even were the book indefinitely expanded, is of reference to other makers of the paper—makers, in this case, whose names never have been signed in its columns nor listed on its staff but upon whom the burdens inseparable from work on a morning paper often have fallen more heavily than on the workers themselves.

It would be impossible to measure the part played through one hundred years by many women, true partners in making the *Republican* whatever it has been and is. Their portraits, strong with the eyes of courage and vision, belong in the gallery of honor. Through trial and discouragement; in the triumph of accomplishment;

against the lure of greater financial returns, to be had for the paper through the practice of other ways, and to be had for the individual in countless cases through offers of journalistic work elsewhere—through this, they have lent a sustaining encouragement to the maintenance of a tradition and the service of an ideal.

Doubtless these things are true, in varying measure, of every institution which has a history worth telling. But circumstances and characters in which strength has combined with understanding, have made the measure so large in the case of the *Republican* that it cannot be passed over. Without this inspiration no history of its first hundred years would have been needed, nor its second hundred years have been begun.

Springfield, July, 1924.

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THE STORY OF AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

THE STORY OF AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

I

THE FOUNDING OF THE SPRINGFIELD REPUBLICAN BY SAMUEL BOWLES

Newspapers, when well conducted, are at all times useful, not only as vehicles of general intelligence, but as safeguards to the rights and liberties of the people, by the diffusing of political information and by discussing the principles of the government.—From the first issue of the *Springfield Republican,* September 8th, 1824.

It has ceased to be a mark of extraordinary distinction for an American newspaper to reach the hundredth anniversary of its establishment. The list of papers which have passed that milestone is long. But a paper recognized, in spite of publication in one of the smaller cities, as having had an influence on many bitterly-contested issues of national importance, should have its story.

On September 8th, 1824, appeared the first issue of the *Springfield Republican.* Its founder, Samuel Bowles, had caused his type and crude press to be poled up the Connecticut River on a flatboat from Hartford to Springfield, where the press was hauled from the river bank by oxen. In that straggling town of 4500 inhabitants, scattered in widely separated hamlets, he began a paper which is still controlled by his descendants and serving,

not a great constituency comparable to that of a metropolitan journal, but a city of 150,000 and a surrounding community of other prosperous cities and towns, swollen by the incoming tides of the newer races.

In the Connecticut Valley the year 1824 was a time of simple ways and small beginnings. The stagecoach was the means of ordinary travel, and steam railroads were almost undreamed of. The tanners of the valley still carried their hides to Boston, a hundred miles away, in lumbering ox-carts. When men of vision looked ahead to possible improvement in transportation, their thoughts, except as these dealt with river navigation, were of canals and canal boats. Progress and folly have had an historic affinity, even in the land of the Puritans. The folly of that day consisted in projecting imaginary canals over impossible routes, even athwart New England's granite hills.

The establishment of the *Republican* was due, like that of many newspapers, to the desire of a party to be represented by an organ in sympathy with its views. The *Republican* was born of the extraordinary revolution—peaceful, political, and democratic—which took place in the new nation during the first quarter of the 19th century. The once great Federalist party had rendered vital service during the early formative period in promoting a national spirit, in securing the adoption of the Constitution and in shaping the administrative machinery under the Constitution. But by 1824 it had not merely passed from national power; it had ceased even to play a minor role on the national stage.

The Republican-Democratic party, upholding republicanism and democracy against aristocracy and wealth and looking still to Thomas Jefferson as its inspiration, had so dominated the field that the only contest for the Presi-

dency in 1824 was within its own ranks. Yet while Federalism had ceased to exist as a national force it had persisted in Massachusetts with a strength described as "one of the wonders of our early politics." Not until 1823 had the hold of the Federalists on the state government finally been broken, although in the Presidential election of 1820 not a single Federalist vote was cast. In 1823 Harrison Gray Otis, a Federalist of the Federalists, and the first gentleman of Massachusetts, was defeated for the governorship after a close contest by William Eustis, representing the Republican-Democratic party. Yet in Federalism pretty much all the wealth and church power of the state had found their political expression. These were influences whose roots struck deep into the social body. After Federalism had lost its political vitality it remained as a social cult. Even in 1824, at the election following the first appearance of the *Republican,* Massachusetts, as if to boast in a truculent anachronism, sent ten Federalists and only three Republicans to Congress. One of these Federalists was elected from the district in which the *Republican* had just been established.

For forty years Springfield had had its weekly papers, one after another. In that period, as for at least a quarter century afterward, newspapers were easily born. Usually they took no unconscionable time in dying. All of the Springfield papers, save one, had been Federalist. That one, the *Hampden Patriot and Liberal Recorder,* after a precarious existence of six years, had confessed failure and given up the fight. Justice Willard for one year of the six had made an unsuccessful trial as its editor. But he had faith that some one else could succeed where he had not. He was determined that there should be an anti-Federalist paper in Springfield to champion the cause of republicanism and democracy. He wrote to Samuel

Bowles, then one of the proprietors of the *Hartford Times,* which had been established in 1817, asking him to recommend a young man to come and start a Republican newspaper in Springfield. Mr. Bowles picked a man for the job and drove with him to Springfield to look over the place. The young man was not bold enough to make the venture. Mr. Willard urged Mr. Bowles to undertake it himself and Mr. Bowles agreed.

Samuel Bowles, at this time twenty-seven years old, was of old Puritan ancestry that traced back through five intervening generations to John Bowles, an elder in the church at Roxbury, Massachusetts, in 1640. The son and grandson of John Bowles, in the line of Samuel's descent, had graduated at Harvard. But the fourth and fifth generations had had less of worldly goods and less of education. Samuel's father, the first Samuel in the line, was a boy of thirteen in Boston when the Revolution broke out. He learned the trade of a pewterer, but found the business ruined by the war and moved to Hartford. There he set up as a grocer and is said to have prospered "in a small way." How small a way it was, is indicated by the fact that when he died in 1813, all that fell as an inheritance to Samuel, his younger son, who had finished his meager schooling and gone to work in the grocery shop, was a watch and the family Bible.

The following year the boy was apprenticed as a printer, taking an older brother as his guardian and continuing to live with his mother, who managed to eke out the family fortunes by taking boarders. When his apprenticeship was completed, he worked for a time at his trade in New Haven in the office of the *Register* and then returned to Hartford. There in 1919 he became, with John Francis of Wethersfield, a joint proprietor of the *Hartford Times.* His labors to put it on its feet and to overcome the

handicaps of his partner's manifold unfitness seriously impaired his health, and plunged him into debts for which he was not justly responsible and of which he was many years in ridding himself. He was seeking some way of relief from the burden when the offer came from Springfield.

In these days the invested capital which has come to be represented by a well-established newspaper in any considerable community, or the possibly larger capital required in a rival effort to launch a new paper, is a mattter which may be viewed from two angles. It makes for stability and business management and for services of many sorts which could not otherwise be given to the public. But it offers a relatively greater and, in some degree, an unfortunate obstacle to any element of the population which may legitimately desire, as did the anti-Federalists of Springfield in 1824, to find a medium through which to present a certain point of view on public affairs.

The cost to those believers in democracy who besought Samuel Bowles to come and print their kind of a paper among them—it proved eventually his kind—was small. There cannot be said, in the end, to have been any cost to them at all. They loaned to Mr. Bowles $250. This in due time he repaid. They neither agreed to forego their interest at six per cent, nor did they have to. If all their investments were as sound as this, they were shrewder or luckier than some later-day Yankees who have seen New England railroads fall on lean times.

Borrowing $150 more Mr. Bowles bought $400 worth of type and other printing equipment, all of which he mortgaged as security for the loan. The crude hand lever press which, with the rest of his equipment, his household effects and his family, he brought up on a flatboat from

Hartford, was not his; he had hired it, and not until some years later was he able to buy it. With such slender resources, but with a habit of frugality and painstaking perseverance and, not least, with the aid of a courageous and helpful wife, Hulda Deming of Wethersfield, was the *Springfield Republican* founded! It had cost Alexander Hamilton and his friends $10,000 to found the *New York Evening Post* in 1801, although $1000 was to be sufficient for Horace Greeley to get the *Tribune* started, in 1841.

The name of the paper, which, through a turn about of party titles, has puzzled some of its newer readers when from time to time it has found superior virtue in Democratic candidates, was honestly come by thirty years before the birth of the present Republican party. The paper pronounced for the early Republican faith as against that of the Federalists, and was ready for progress in democracy in a community which, if measured by the congressional district rather than by Hampden County, in which Springfield is situated, was still under Federalist control.

Mr. Bowles began by doing about all his own work and attempting nothing beyond his ability. He was proprietor, publisher, editor and devil; he set his own type and ran his own press. He advertised at once for a boy to serve him as apprentice, but seems to have been some time in finding one. In his first issue he declared his principles and purposes. Although he was later to be overshadowed by his more brilliant son of the same name, these initial statements reveal some of the solid qualities of the first editor which made it possible for him to establish, in a field where others had failed, an institution which inherited from him far more than a name. He had a clear idea, for that time, of what a newspaper

ought to be and to do. He saw through the hollow transiency of the "era of good feeling" and recognized the need of a determined direction for the new paper, which was to be "a genuine democratic press" representing the Republicans.

It is notable that in national politics the young editor frankly stated that he did not intend to advocate the cause of any one of the candidates for President in the election which was soon to take place, and from which John Quincy Adams, after the choice had been thrown into the House of Representatives, finally emerged the victor. It was the only Presidential election in 100 years in which the *Republican* did not declare itself on one side or the other. But as the candidates for the Presidency were all of the same party, and preferences among them therefore personal to a greater degree than usual, he seems to have shown a shrewd prudence as a newcomer in a strange community, comparatively few of whose citizens could yet have known him. In the essential issue of the ensuing election where there was actually a contest between different political views, he made his position known in clear and vigorous terms, supporting the Republican-Democratic candidate for Congress and opposing the Federalist. It was the Federalist who won, so that the *Republican* lost in its first political contest, as it has lost in many political contests since then, without losing its faith in democracy.

II

THE HARTFORD CONVENTION AND THE SPRINGFIELD COMMUNITY

The founder of the *Republican,* in spite of limited education, had had unusual experiences to fit him for his task. He had been in a laboratory of democracy where its elements and its dangers were magnified through the lens of intense feeling. In the first year of his apprenticeship as a printer in Hartford came the famous Hartford Convention, inspired by the opposition to the war against England and attended by Federalist delegates from Massachusetts (which then included Maine), from Rhode Island and Connecticut, and from certain counties in New Hampshire and Vermont where the Federalists were not in a position to attempt action in the name of the state government.

Immediately following this historic gathering, at which the sinister suggestion of disunion had been made, a pamphlet was prepared "purporting to give an account of its proceedings." These had been held in secret. Among the compositors who set the type for this pamphlet was Samuel Bowles, a circumstance which intensified the impression the whole episode made on him. In a reminiscent paper written for his family many years afterward he told of working on this pamphlet "all one night." He shared the belief of others that it did not by any means "contain all that was said and done in the convention."

It is not to be supposed that the matured reflections of his later years exactly reproduce the impressions which the convention made on even so sober-minded and serious a youth of seventeen as Samuel Bowles seems to have been in 1814. Yet these reminiscences are valuable for three things. They give a vivid sketch of the forces marshalled behind the convention. They reveal the thoughts to which the convention's proceedings prompted one who was to have a share in molding public opinion. They indicate something of the judicial attitude of mind in which Samuel Bowles conducted his paper through a period which, in spite of the immediately preceding and better advertised "era of good feeling," has been described by students of newspaper history as "the era of black journalism" because of the vituperation which editors heaped on public officials and on each other. Mr. Bowles wrote:

When the renowned Hartford Convention assembled, December 15th, 1814, I was an apprentice. Great feeling was manifested in all political parties. It was denounced by the Democrats as a treasonable combination against the government in the prosecution of the war. Most of its members were men of high moral character and intelligence. The mischief of alienation from the government or Union contemplated by some hotheaded members was no doubt prevented by their more deliberate and patriotic companions.

In this same paper Mr. Bowles described the religious complications of Connecticut politics:

The Democrats of Connecticut had not yet possessed any political power. The Federal party had, in their long possession of the power, allowed practices and abuses to creep in which were deemed oppressive to the minority. The Presbyterian denomination and the clergy thereof had grown to a "favored order." The road to political preferment was

through the church. On the "Election" or Inauguration day, some fifty or sixty of them would join the civil dignitaries of the state in procession, and then dine with them at the expense of the state. It was then, through a long term of years, that nearly all the character, learning and talent of the state was monopolized by the Federal party and the Presbyterian denomination. Hence the Democratic party, as a body, did not contain as much intelligence, wealth and respectability. Federalists had come to look upon their Democratic neighbors with scorn and contempt. One of my father's Federal neighbors said to him in my presence one day that he did not think a Democrat could be a good man.

But the political drift of things soon alarmed the leaders of the Federal party, and they began to devise plans to sustain their waning powers. Among their schemes was one for distributing a sum of money that was due to Connecticut from the United States government for militia services during the war, to the different religious denominations, apportioning a liberal share to the minor sects. The Baptists and Methodists, who were almost entirely of the Democratic party, spurned the bribe; but the Episcopalians accepted their portion and made a "bishop's fund" of it. These minor sects, as they were called, felt oppressed by the "standing order," or Presbyterian sect. This expedient to propitiate the good will of the Baptists, Episcopalians and Methodists, with other acts of the Federal leaders, reacted upon the authors. The principal portion of the Episcopalians were of the Federal party, but became disaffected, and, uniting with the Democrats, formed what was then called the "toleration party." This party effected an overthrow of the old dynasty, in the election of Oliver Wolcott for Governor in 1817, and a majority to the Legislature.

This calm review of events and issues, which for many years were the cause of great bitterness and reproach, suggests that to an earnest but naturally judicial, rather than intensely combative mind, the lesson of these Hart-

ford experiences was that the devil should be given his due, even when wearing the livery of the opposition, and that denominational controversies, so far as concerned taking any side in them, were a thing of which a newspaper should steer clear. On the latter point Mr. Bowles made his position known to his readers in the first issue of the *Republican.*

It is easy in the light of the present day to commend religious tolerance and strict impartiality between sects. But the matter was of more practical importance to the success of the *Republican* in 1824 than readily appears. If the old accounts are to be credited, it was precisely on the rock of religious controversy that the *Hampden Patriot and Liberal Recorder,* Springfield's previous anti-Federalist paper, had foundered. The people of Springfield were a contentious folk who differed easily and took their differences hard.

The little New England town, with its chief settlement of some two thousand inhabitants stretching close along the banks of the Connecticut River, to which Samuel Bowles came from Hartford to make his new venture, had been founded in 1636 by William Pynchon, who brought a company of settlers from Roxbury, Massachusetts, which he also had founded. The advantages of the site at that time were the meadow land beside the river on the western shore and the opportunity of trading for fur with the Indians, who had a fort on the bluff to the south of the village.

The history of the town had been typical of New England. It had been attacked and nearly destroyed by the Indians; it had twice been torn by contending religious views in celebrated episodes and was destined to be torn again. Mr. Pynchon had differed from the ecclesiastical rulers of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in his protest

against the sternest Calvinism. They had caused his book, giving his milder idea of Christ's atonement, to be burned on Boston Common. Deposed from his position in the little settlement, Pynchon had gone back to England, but had left his son in Springfield so that the family was established and descendants are there to-day.

Relations with the Indians had been good in the main, but in 1675, during King Philip's War, an attack was made on the town. More than thirty houses and about the same number of barns were burned and its existence menaced. At the time of the attack Major John Pynchon, son of the founder, had ridden out at the head of a company of men for the relief of Hadley, which was supposed to be threatened. Warning was given by a friendly Indian, and the messenger sent after Pynchon brought him and his men back at a desperate gallop to find much of the town in smouldering ruins. So serious were the losses that the proposal of abandoning the settlement altogether was entertained.

During the Revolution, Washington, acting on the recommendations of Colonel Knox, had ventured to depart from the instructions of the Continental Congress and to select Springfield rather than Brookfield, thirty miles to the east, as the site of a military storehouse and "laboratory." This arbitrary exercise of military authority was approved by the Continental Congress February 20th, 1777. Knox had been chiefly influenced by simple geographical considerations. Springfield was above the navigable waters of the Connecticut and therefore better protected than Hartford from British forces that might ascend the river. At the same time the river gave it an advantage as compared with Brookfield in the ease with which lumber might be floated down. A further advantage over Hartford lay in the fact of Springfield's location on the Albany post-road at a time when Burgoyne's

threatened invasion from the North made the question of supplies a vital one in that quarter.

After the Revolution, storehouse and powder magazine remained. They were the object of attack in 1787 during Shays's Rebellion when the rebels were dispersed by troops under General Shepard. By an act approved March 21st, 1794, Congress gave to the President authority to determine the location of several government arsenals. Washington not only had had the benefit of Colonel Knox's recommendations, but, as noted in his diary, had passed through Springfield in 1789 and observed the powder magazine, and the disrepair into which other buildings were falling. He selected Springfield and Harpers Ferry. The first musket manufactured at Springfield under this act was produced the following year.

When the young printer from Hartford brought out the first issue of his new paper, the arsenal, overlooking the town from its commanding position on the plateau rising to the eastward, and the First Church, situated on the lower land beside the river near the spot on which the original settlers under Pynchon had built their first meeting-house, were the town's leading institutions. The town was growing slowly; 260 hands were employed at the arsenal and in the year ending September 30th, 1826, 15,500 muskets were made. But not until the coming of the railroads, which twenty years later, with lines running north and south and east and west, made Springfield an intersecting point, could its future as the chief center of population in western Massachusetts and the regional metropolis of so much of western New England as lies north of the Connecticut line, be said to have been determined and the larger opportunity of the *Republican* created.

III

WEEKLY NEWSPAPERS IN 1824 AND 1924

The country newspaper of 1824 bore little resemblance, save in number of pages and frequency of publication, to the weekly papers now printed in small towns from Maine to California with the usual advantage of type-setting machines and electrically driven presses. The contrast in the nature of their service is as striking as between the mechanical methods of their production. What the *Republican* attempted in 1824 is conspicuously what the country weekly of today never attempts. That on which the country weekly now depends as the basis of success, the *Republican* came only gradually to undertake.

The first issue contained no local news. It was painstakingly made up of articles and items selected from the latest available editions of papers printed in New York and Boston and possibly Philadelphia. The editor apologized for the contents, explaining that for that issue he had only "three or four exchanges" to depend on, but would have more in the future. The proportion of total space devoted to foreign news was relatively larger than that so devoted today by any metropolitan paper which supplements the foreign service of the Associated Press by dispatches from its special correspondents in London, Paris, Berlin, Rome and Tokio.

By the standards of to-day this foreign news was old. Foreign papers of a date more recent than five weeks

seem never to have been quoted by the *Republican* in its early years. Domestic news, as from Washington, was subject to a delay relatively greater, if one were to compare Springfield's distance from the national capital with the length of the Atlantic voyage. In spite of the account McMasters gives, in his "History of the People of the United States," of improved turnpikes which by this time made Boston and New York only two days apart, and New York and Washington theoretically but twenty-six hours apart, events that took place in Washington were not reported in print in Springfield until eight days afterward. When the roads were heavy with winter snows or deep with spring mud the delay was sometimes greater.

The function which the *Republican* seems to have undertaken, as one pores over those early files, was to turn the eyes of its readers outward toward the world at large. That of the country weekly of today is almost exclusively to deal with local news, to report the comings and goings of friends and neighbors, the doings of the churches, the granges and local social organizations, and so on through a host of useful and vital yet essentially parochial activities. In after years it came to be the *Republican's* boast that its local field was covered with unsurpassed care and skill, but there was no hint of this at the beginning nor did the newspaper practice and competition of the time demand it.

The contrast which has been described is intensified by the fact that the force of the *Republican,* represented in the single and indefatigable person of its founder, was new to the town in which it was printed. But while the paper's attention to local happenings must have been limited by the burden of duties of every sort which he had to take on his own shoulders, the distinction between

the objective of the country editor then and now is a valid one and is the key to an understanding of much subsequent newspaper development. There were no papers from the larger cities pouring in by early trains and offering the advantages of vastly superior facilities for the collection and publication of general news. These now fix the terms and conditions of the problem before the small-town editor. But, of more fundamental importance, the newspaper enterprise which was to come in later years had not then in any community—even the larger cities—developed a self-conscious interest in its own affairs or taught it to find in the press a satisfaction for a new appetite. If the historian were to assume that those early papers were a completely faithful reflection of the time, he might declare the much criticized provincialism of American thought, as reflected in the choice of news by many papers to-day, to be a descent from a broader and more world-conscious attitude of mind in the year when, without the advantages of telegraph and cable or of steam navigation across the Atlantic, the *Republican* was founded.

The essential fact which explains the journalism of that day is that as far as concerned local or home news the editor took it for granted that everybody knew it anyway. He devoted himself to informing his public of that which it had no means of knowing. One finds in the early issues of the *Republican* news about pretty much everything but the life of Springfield itself. Clipped from foreign papers, or from New York or Boston papers which had clipped them first, item after item appears until one is ready to agree that, in spite of all the disadvantages of communication, the Springfield reader was given an idea of what was going on in the rest of the world.

It was not the hand of a novice that wielded the shears any more than the same hand that laboriously but patiently set the type was the hand of a novice. The experience on the *Hartford Times* had been productive of something besides debts. The editor-printer, who had had little opportunity for education except that which came to him through the peculiar advantage that his trade always offers, and that which he had made for himself through association with other serious-minded youths, had a sense of what would interest other people. Of this there are two tests, the success of his paper where other papers and other editors had failed, and the interest which those old files, carefully and clearly printed by a hand press on a quality of paper very different from the quickly disintegrating newsprint of today, must have for any one who turns to them to study the times.

The first issue of the *Republican,* aside from the two announcements by the publisher, consisted of a miscellaneous assortment of family reading suited to the taste of the period. Chief prominence was given to a sketch of Lafayette, who was then in the country on his famous tour, and to a collection of anecdotes of him. An article from the *Nantucket Inquirer* (in those days Nantucket and its whaling industry were in the height of their prosperity) urged the erection of a suitable monument to Washington at Mount Vernon. The trial of a woman convicted and sentenced in New Haven for the murder of her husband was reprinted from the *Register* of that city. A long article from the *London Examiner,* entitled "A Gallery of Tories," occupied several columns on the second page with a severe castigation of Tories of all sorts—a not inappropriate article for the first issue of a paper devoting itself to democracy. Brief news items followed from England, Greece, Russia, Mexico and

Peru, the news in none of them being less than five weeks old. From Mexico came the news of the landing and prompt execution of the ex-emperor, Iturbide. The space remaining in the four pages was filled, aside from the prospectus and initial editorial statement, with miscellaneous matter and a meager assortment of advertisements.

At first the chief tinge of local interest was given the paper by letters to the editor, largely on political issues and signed not with personal names, but with such assumed titles as were once the fashion in political controversy. They were, of course, letters aimed chiefly at the Federalists. But gradually the newcomer found time to look around a little; probably the apprentices who began to be taken into his home, Mrs. Bowles putting her helpful shoulders under the load, relieved him a little. An account of work being done to develop and enlarge the plant of the United States arsenal was the first piece of local reporting. But it was so worded as to indicate that it was based on secondhand information and not on a tramp up the hill for firsthand observation. That would have taken time and time must have been precious, with payments for subscriptions yet to be received and payments of debts yet to be made, and with the paper to be selected, set and printed each week in addition to any job printing that might providentially come along to help the exchequer. But in spite of his burdens Samuel Bowles began to take his part in the activities of the community, and his paper showed it.

Coming to Springfield in the way he had, it was natural that Mr. Bowles should show a special interest in the improvement of navigation on the Connecticut River. To this subject, in the last eighty years since the railroads began to offer competition, Springfield has devoted much

attention and has made little progress as the result of its trouble. But in 1824 the railroad was not foreseen; the public imagination was keen throughout the country on the possibilities of travel by water, the improvement of river navigation and the building of canals. At the celebration on July 4th, 1825, to quote the *Republican,* "a respectable gathering of gentlemen" met to hold the patriotic exercises which were then customary. After much speechmaking and the reading of an ode, they repaired to the arsenal, where a banquet was held and the "toasts announced from the ends of the tables and drank under the discharge of cannons." They burned a good deal of gunpowder that day and those who drank all the innumerable toasts, which were offered with the formality of the time, may have grown as tired as the gunners.

"The Connecticut River—a natural canal—may it be made navigable without the aid of locks" was the toast which Editor Bowles offered and to the realization of which Springfield and the valley towns are still looking forward one hundred years later, although conceding that locks are necessary. At the time, however, a still more difficult and ambitious project was entertained to which the *Republican* gave the advantage of the fullest publicity it could offer. This was the construction of a canal across Massachusetts from the Connecticut River to Boston and possibly westward from the Connecticut to the Hudson. Surveys were made in 1825 by order of the Legislature and controversies inaugurated between rival routes. These probably would have grown bitter had not the impracticability of the project, and the gradual emergence of the railroad as the thing to undertake, fortunately caused the idea of a canal to be abandoned before the state was committed to it.

On July 27th, 1825, appeared an item of local interest, whatever its accuracy. It was reported that the "heat was so great that shad and other fish were picked up dead" in the Connecticut River. Undoubtedly they were dead, but one wonders whether the cause was the pollution of the river by early paper mills or other manufactories rather than a heat which, it would seem, must have dealt more harshly with the human inhabitants of the Connecticut Valley before it began to kill the fish in the water flowing down from the cool and sparsely settled hills of Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Vermont.

Two weeks later appeared the *Republican's* first reference to a subject which in time was to fill its columns and those of all the papers in the country while it drenched the land with blood. The cause of this item was again "a respectable meeting of gentlemen." They gathered this time at the old court house and adopted resolutions favorable to the work of the American Colonization Society and the formation of a local branch to "promote the work of 'colonizing,' with their consent, free people of color resident in our country, in Africa or such other places as Congress shall deem expedient." This meeting, of which the editor of the *Republican* was the secretary, seems to have been Springfield's first important approach to the negro problem. Its fundamental relation to the slave question is apparent, although the proposed action was expressly limited in the language of the resolution to "free people of color."

The founder of the *Republican* often has been described as a solemn, earnest and undemonstrative man, and the supposition has been, even among his descendants, that he had little sense of humor. The files of the *Republican* do not wholly confirm the assumption. In

November, 1825, one finds the publisher giving warning that "we shall publish no marriage unless the writing is accompanied by a piece of the wedding cake, and a little wine if convenient—but we are not particular as to that." In the immediately succeeding issue, whether or not as a result, appears the following, "We must apologize to the ladies this week for not being able to supply them with a few marriages to read. But we expect a supply after Thanksgiving."

IV

RAISING THE WHIG BANNER

The convictions which led the *Republican* to oppose Andrew Jackson in the election of 1828 and to criticize him with even greater severity after he took office, were those which, being widely held, brought a new political alignment and the development of a new party.

The personal but unavowed leanings of Samuel Bowles in 1824 had been toward William H. Crawford of Georgia for President. As he wrote years later, he had been "decidedly opposed" to John Quincy Adams. But not many months after the election the *Republican* uttered a strong admonition, undoubtedly needed, that President Adams should be treated with a decent respect. When the contest of 1828 shaped itself as a renewal of the contest of 1824 between Adams and Jackson, the *Republican* became a strong advocate of Adams. It opposed Jackson on the grounds of personal qualification, fearing him as a military dictator under whom the government would be one of men rather than laws. It favored Adams "because of an administration formed and conducted on honest and constitutional principles" which "by wise councils" had "brought the nation both at home and abroad to a state of promising prosperity which at no former point in our history it could boast."

Jackson's official acts pleased the *Republican* no more than it had expected to be pleased. Succeeding issues

were filled with attacks on his relentless application of the spoils system. Such criticism even in a remote country town could not go unrebuked by the local representatives of the new administration. One of the *Republican's* sources of revenue, almost from the date of its establishment, had been to publish every three months an advertisement of the uncalled-for letters at the postoffice. Not long after Jackson had begun to swing the axe this editorial item appeared:

> The *Springfield Republican* has been removed from the office of publishing the quarterly list of letters from the postoffice in this town and the *Hampden Journal* appointed. Both papers are opposed to the administration, but our postmaster probably thought there was a "choice of evils." We hope this appointment, with the good "personal friendship" with the new postmaster, will not shake Brother Tannat's political faith.

Issues were involved, however, which were broader than distrust of Jackson's wilful, domineering character. John Quincy Adams had grown up in the faith of the Federalists, who had made his father President, but he had joined the nationally dominant Republican-Democrat party years before his own election by the House of Representatives in 1825. He was not, however, such a strict constructionist of the Constitution, nor was Samuel Bowles, as to prevent him from seeking to promote commerce, banking and manufacture through the activities of the government. Yet such were the interests on which Hamilton, patron saint of the Federalists, had hoped to foster the spirit of nationality.

There is some ground for the familiar assertion that Adams, and those who, like the editor of the *Republican,* supported him in 1828, were trying to accomplish Hamilton's objects by Jefferson's methods. Whether there

also is justice in the criticism of Adams for not having the frankness or political shrewdness to proclaim a new party, when elected in 1825, on the principles he set forth in his inaugural and later messages to Congress, the fact remains that it was on those principles that the party split came. The Whig party, the exponent of those principles, grew out of that wing of the Republican-Democratic party which opposed Jackson and whose members for a time called themselves National-Republicans. A clever newspaper man, James Watson Webb of the *New York Courier and Inquirer,* is said to have given the Whig party its name in 1834 in the desire to capitalize the historic associations of Whig against Tory in charging Jackson with usurpation. The supporters of Jackson meantime gravitated toward the simple name of Democrats.

Samuel Bowles naturally became an early and ardent Whig and the *Republican* a Whig organ. In 1835, the *Republican* spoke of itself as having "long been found under the Whig banner." This could only have been true in a relative sense, for the Whig party had not been long in existence. But there could be no question of the vigor with which the *Republican* attacked Jackson's vetoes of bills for roads and other internal improvements. It bitterly described the veto power as the "one monarchial feature" incorporated in our system of government.

Not all those in western Massachusetts who stood with Samuel Bowles in 1824 went with him into Whig ranks. It is easier to understand now than it was for him then, why he was charged with being a "Federalist" and he and his paper classed with the "vile aristocrats." With memories of the Hartford Convention it seemed to him incredible that any one could make the first charge against him.

He was too conscious of democratic sympathies and of a painfully small measure of worldly success, won only by infinite toil, to feel much like an aristocrat. But in a broad way Jackson, in that time, was the popular representative of the masses.

The great struggle over the United States Bank constantly echoes through the papers of this period. The *Republican* concisely summed up its position in 1833 in the statement that the essential was not one bank nor another, but that "the national currency ought to be kept sound." In January, 1837, the *Republican* declared: "Though not friends to the United States Bank, we were opposed to the high-handed measures which were adopted to gratify malignant feelings against that institution and we are alike opposed to the unmeaning twaddle which is bandied about in regard to banks and paper money." The political issues of the time did not seem academic in Springfield. On May 12th, 1837, the banks of Springfield gave notice of their suspension of specie payment for self-protection, following similar action in Boston. That, to the *Republican,* was Jackson's monument.

The editorials of the *Republican,* during this period, are marked by a sharper tone. As the years passed, the Whigs, those of Massachusetts in particular, had reason to complain that political fortune was indeed outrageous in the blows it dealt them. In 1839 Marcus Morton, running on the Democratic ticket, won the Governorship from his Whig opponent by a single vote in the popular election. In 1841, after having finally accomplished the election of General Harrison, the Whigs saw the cup dashed from their lips by Harrison's early death and the accession to the Presidency of John Tyler. Tyler, to Whig delight, signed the repeal of the sub-treasury act,

but brought on anew the bitter controversy by vetoing the bank bill for whose passage the Whigs had hoped.

In 1843 the *Republican* again records the election of Morton as Governor by a single vote, although this time the election had been thrown into the Legislature. But if these trials to the soul of the Whig editor made his pen more bitter in comparison with his own previous standards, his relative moderation is established by comparison with other political writings of the time. In assailing Democrats he hardly rivalled the lurid vehemence of this typical characterization of General Harrison which appeared in a Democratic paper in Philadelphia in 1840 and which the *Republican* reproduced as a sample of the language and the emotions of the opposition:

> Always a coward, always a foe to the people, always as rapacious as Verres, and as infamous as Arnold; we know not whether most to scorn his imbecility, to hate his principles, or wonder at his impudent effrontery.

The only good thing that the *Republican* could see in Jackson was the vigorous position he had taken with regard to the South Carolina nullifiers. Samuel Bowles would hardly have been true to his convictions formed at the time of the Hartford Convention without applauding Jackson on that issue. Possibly, however, his judgment on the Hartford Convention had become a little softened, for he suggested that the South Carolina nullifiers deserved more odium than they had received and that condemnation should not be reserved for the members of the Hartford Convention alone, since, after all, they had done what they thought right.

The *Republican* during the year 1837 showed a curious inconsistency in regard to that growing cloud, the slavery

question. In the spring of that year an editorial explained the paper's refusal to print anti-slavery letters:

> Is there nothing short of the exercise of the revolutionary principle but the still small voice of reason and humanity addressed to the ear of the slave holder that can bring about the abolition of slavery? . . . With our present views of the matter we think we can do no good to the cause of true humanity by lending our columns to the discussion of the subject.

At the same time the *Republican* stoutly championed the right of petition when that right was assailed in connection with petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia which were presented to Congress through the aged and courageous Adams. Yet in the summer of 1837 one finds this editorial demand:

> Are the people wide awake enough to the importance of the question whether Texas shall be admitted to the Union? Texas had its origin in speculation and slavery. . . . Is the country prepared to perpetuate the curse of slavery within its borders? On the other hand, has not the time arrived when something should be done with a view to getting rid of slavery? Admit Texas and slavery is entailed on us forever.

The *Republican* did not proceed to align itself with the radical abolitionists, although this editorial might have suggested that it was preparing to do so. Whatever may have occasioned an outburst in advance of its general position, that position was more slowly developed through the succeeding years. But slavery was at no time looked on as anything else than an evil and an offense against humanity.

On the 13th of November, 1837, the *Republican* printed its first extra. This was a small hand sheet announcing

"Continuation of the glorious news from New York, Whigs triumphant all over the State." It stated that copies of New York papers had just been received by express from Hartford and that both Whig papers and Van Buren papers joined in announcing a Whig victory.

V

ABSORBING RIVALS

The economic consequences of the World War in recent years have accustomed the public to a high newspaper mortality. Increased costs of production have sent innumerable papers in the smaller communities to the wall. In the cities weaker papers have been absorbed by stronger until, somewhat hazardously for the free discussion of public affairs, the press of certain of the larger cities is notably in the control of fewer hands than at any time since it began to perform its modern function of highly organized news gathering.

The present situation in New York, where four morning papers printed in English are serving a population of over 6,000,000, offers a vivid contrast to that which existed when the *Republican* began to absorb its rivals. Before Springfield dared boast a population of 13,000 there were, at one time, no less than five weekly papers in the town. They were the product of personal ambitions and the desires of political factions; but they were more than the town needed or could support.

In its first issue of January, 1835, the *Republican* announced that it had bought the *Hampden Journal.* This was a paper which had begun life as the *Federal Spy* in 1793 when the Federalists were in the ascendant. It had since passed through separate incarnations, first as the *Hampden Federalist,* then as the *Hampshire Federal-*

ist, and about 1823 had so bowed to the rising wave of anti-Federalism as to change its name to the *Hampden Journal.* The *Republican* in 1835 thus became the *Republican and Hampden Journal.* That customary double-barrelled device, printed across the top of each of its pages to capitalize the good-will of the defunct paper, was continued for three years, a rather longer period than the present-day journalist is apt to consider necessary when he causes one paper to swallow another and calls on the readers of both to digest the change.

Coincident with the purchase of the *Hampden Journal,* its good-will and its subscription list, the *Republican* materially enlarged its size. It adopted a seven-column page, 17 by 21¾ inches, which approximates the standard eight-column page with which the public is familiar to-day. Compared with the 14 by 19-inch page of six columns to which it had previously held, this was a marked advance. In his announcement the editor explained that his readers had complained that advertising had so increased as frequently to reduce the amount of reading matter below that to which they felt entitled. He added that he proposed to give the paper "a more decided political character":

> By a more decided character we do not mean the tone of our paper, which will remain unchanged, but a more extended field for political discussion. The political interests of the country have lately become peculiarly absorbing. Upon these topics—our political relations—the community ought to be well informed and they ought to have a means of arriving at sound conclusions. We have long been found under the Whig banner. We have ever fought for Whig principles, we shall not desert them. We shall therefore continue to oppose the policy of the present national administration; the spirit of it is this—to enlarge the power of the Federal

Government—to cripple the power and independence of the state's government. In conducting the political department of this paper, especially when drawn into controversy, we shall endeavor to abstain from everything of a personal or insidious nature.

To the student of newspaper development the notable feature of the extended announcement from which the above paragraph is taken is the absence of any promise of improved or expanded local news. That development had already begun in New York, as the result of James Gordon Bennett's none too honorable but highly enterprising rivalry with the older New York papers. But while the *Republican* had come to print local items somewhat less rarely, these still were few in number, were apt to be concerned purely with political gatherings, crimes, or criminal trials, and in some issues were lacking altogether. There was as yet no consistent effort to cover the town news nor any indication that the town desired it. But the paper certainly was given a "decided political character." It at least offers to the student of politics a clear and comprehensive cross section of the issues of the times.

With its enlarged size the paper was able to present, week after week, a political spread of six or seven columns—often more. With the selected miscellaneous "family reading" which continued usually to grace the first page—letters of travel, sermons, curious items of human interest—there were needed only two or three columns of news from abroad to fill the space left by the advertisements. Sometimes politics crowded out pretty much everything else. Out of fourteen columns of reading in one issue, politics accounted for thirteen. Long forgotten

patent medicines of that early day accounted for an almost equally large proportion, sometimes five or six columns, of the total advertising.

Politics and disease seem to have been the favorite secular diversions. Except that the diseases then fashionable were slightly different in name from those most discussed today, and except for a more stilted phraseology, these patent medicine advertisements were closely similar to those with which the public of a later era has been familiar. Certainly they yielded nothing in claims of curative omnipotence. The fact that the *Republican* was dependent through its early career on advertising of this class deserves mention, if only for the reason that at a later period its policy with regard to similar advertising has attracted notice.

Eighty years ago newspapers were not only more vigorous in the use of epithets in political controversy than today, but handled general news with a freedom of personal allusion now less in vogue. Their jokes also were sometimes more Rabelaisian than Puritanic. At the time in which these pages are written certain newspapers have been printing many columns concerning the marriage and honeymoon of a youth of sixteen or seventeen and a woman of wealth whose age is variously given as from thirty-six to fifty-six. Although these articles have been composed with a nominal regard for the conventionalities, the pursuit of the couple has been, at best, a tiresome and unattractive performance. One wonders whether the disposition of a similar matter in 1837, although certainly not above criticism on the ground of taste, was not at least preferable on the ground of brevity. On May 13th, 1837, tucked away in the formal marriage notices of the *Republican*—a place in which one does not look today for inspired poetry—appeared the following:

MARRIED

In Cooperstown, N. Y., Mr. Abel Price, age 22, to Mrs. Euphronia Rugg, age 69—

Their marriage sure is snug,
They joined them in a trice,
And now 'tis clear that one old Rugg
Has fetched a handsome Price.

It might not be safe to claim that example of the muse as an original production of the *Republican.* One suspects that it may have been a case in which the flight of poesy was aided by a pair of shears. But at all events, the affair was dealt with in such a way as to leave nothing more to be said.

VI

SAMUEL BOWLES, THE SECOND, STARTS A DAILY PAPER

In April, 1844, the *Weekly Republican,* as its readers had known it for nearly twenty years, began to show a change. The form in which it slowly had gained a circulation of twelve hundred was the same, but it reflected something new. That new thing was the *Daily Republican,* begun on March 27th, 1844, from whose accumulated contents, selected and condensed, the *Weekly* was henceforth to be made up and to be continued to the present day, long after the once famous weekly issue of Greeley's *Tribune* and the weekly issues of most other eastern papers have been abandoned.

The first issue of the *Daily Republican* marked the entrance on the stage of a youth of eighteen who, before his race was run, was to make himself by common agreement one of the great figures of American journalism. But he did not spring full-armed into the fight. The development of his powers, while swift, as the lives of most men are measured, was marked step by step in that of the country newspaper which, through his efforts in a period of growing public crisis, won a position of national influence.

The founding of the *Daily Republican* was in some ways a more daring venture than the founding of the *Weekly* had been. The venture was due to the urging of Samuel Bowles, third of that name in the family suc-

cession but second on the newspaper and therefore to be called Samuel Bowles, the second, for the purposes of this history. Only in this way is it possible to avoid confusion, worse confounded by the fact that little more than thirty years later his son, the third editor of the same name and fourth in the family succession, was to take command and carry on the tradition.

The announcement of the *Daily Republican* seems today naïvely frank. It began:

> We have resolved to try the experiment of a daily paper in Springfield. Two years since, we proposed the matter to the public, and consulted some of our friends who were business men, and they dissuaded us from it as an unprofitable undertaking. We commence now, without a single subscriber or advertising customer promised. After continuing the publication six months, or a year, if we find in it too much of a loss, we shall stop.

The announcement then reviewed the newspaper situation in the town and the difficulties of the five existing weeklies in making both ends meet. It pointed out that large numbers of daily papers from the big cities were sold in Springfield. The railroads, that from Boston to Springfield having been opened in 1839, already were affecting country journalism. The announcement added, "If our little daily could have one-half of what is paid in Springfield for New York and Boston papers it would ensure its support." Politics were not overlooked:

> We need hardly say that the politics of the *Daily Republican* will be Whig—Faneuil Hall Whig. The Presidential election will soon open, and will be one of unusual interest and excitement. In this campaign we intend the *Daily Republican* shall be a vigilant and active auxiliary to the Whig cause.

But the passage in the announcement which showed a new idea in journalism was the following:

To the end that we may succeed in our undertaking, we shall endeavor, by all the means in our power, to make an interesting sheet. It will not be particularly devoted to politics, but we mean to make it also a news paper, and especially a local one—as well as a medium for the discussion of matter of local interest!

The Samuel Bowles to whom the founding of the *Daily Republican* under these none too hopeful circumstances was due, was born in Springfield February 9th, 1826, a year and five months after the founding of the *Weekly*. He was brought up in a frugal household, sharing his bed, when a small boy, with the youngest of his father's apprentices while two other apprentices had their bed in the same room. The day in that household began with breakfast at six o'clock the year around, and at seven the master and apprentices were at work, doing a general printing business in addition to the production of the newspaper. The son seems to have received more of an intellectual inheritance from his mother than his father, but it is not on record that in his boyhood he gave indication of any remarkable qualities. He attended the Springfield schools and wished to go to college, but his father did not approve, and the want of a college training was a lifelong regret to him. In his "The Life and Times of Samuel Bowles," Merriam has described the boy:

The father's first purpose was that his oldest son should learn the printer's trade, just as he had done; but he was sometimes discouraged, and feared the boy would never succeed, because he had so little skill with his hands. If a kite was to be made, or so much as a nail driven, his younger

sister was apt to be called to his help. To the end of his life, his hands—long, pale, delicate—had a helplessness. He did once go into the printing room for the purpose of regularly learning its art and mystery; but a few hours of type-setting was enough for him, and he left at the end of the first half-day. At odd times he picked up, after a fashion, the mechanical part of the business, but never so far as to have any expertness in it.

Some lack of physical vigor appears to have kept the boy out of hardy sports, for though his health as a youth was fairly good, in contrast to the prolonged and acute ill-health under the handicap of which he performed the labors of his manhood, it never was robust. There was no surplus or overflow of vitality. His favorite occupation was reading. When he left school at the age of seventeen he went into the *Republican* office as office boy with the usual miscellaneous duties, passing on gradually to the writing of occasional items of local news. But within a year from the time of his beginning work, there unexpectedly developed in him a pushing, ambitious spirit, and he proposed to make the *Republican* a daily paper.

As may be imagined from the announcement quoted above, the elder Bowles was at first by no means favorable to the plan. He had carefully considered and then dismissed it two years before. Outside of Boston there was not a daily paper in all Massachusetts. But the son was persistent in his argument. Across the line in Connecticut at Hartford, the place from which the father originally had come, there was already a daily paper. In the end the father consented. "If you, Sam, will take the main responsibility of working and pushing it, the daily shall be started," he said. The die was cast. The father and son went to Hartford to see for themselves

how a daily paper was produced, and the *Daily Republican* was begun.

The elder Bowles probably had moments when he repented of the venture into which he had been led. With a frankness equal to that of the original announcement, he stated at intervals during the early months that the paper was not paying its way and he reported the modest need of three hundred subscribers for its safe establishment. That a daily paper with a subscription price of six dollars a year and an incidental revenue from advertising could look toward a subscription list of three hundred as a basis of assured stability may seem impossible to the publisher of today. But no business episode in the history of the *Republican* is more revealing than the contract which the elder Bowles made for printing both the *Daily* and *Weekly* soon after the *Daily* had been started.

Chauncey White, who had gone to work for the elder Bowles in 1836 and has been referred to as the "youngest apprentice" who shared a bed with "young Sam," had now become foreman of the printing shop. When the *Daily* was started White was already under contract—not, however, as a foreman, but in the relation of operating manager of a printing plant owned and supplied with materials by Samuel Bowles—to print the *Weekly Republican* for the sum of $1000 a year. When the *Daily Republican* had been running several months a new contract was drawn up between the elder Bowles and White whereby White agreed to print both *Daily* and *Weekly* for one year for the now scarcely credible sum of $1450.

"Printing" under the terms of this contract included all the mechanical work of production, typesetting and printing—even folding, packing and directing papers. It

was further agreed—a reflection of the method of paying subscriptions in those days—that White was to accept in part settlement orders for "groceries, dry goods, clothing, farmers' produce, etc., for the supply of his family, or his apprentices, so far as he may want such supplies." In this way, the farm products, which often were turned in to the *Republican* in payment of subscriptions and then transferred to a local grocery and credit given for them, were made at last to pay a part of the cost of getting out the paper.

The initiative of Samuel Bowles, the second, was necessary to the establishment of the daily paper, but the prudent shrewdness of the father in making a contract by which he set a definite limit to his possible losses was another essential. Chauncey White, who long outlived the boy whose bed he had shared, always claimed that he himself was one of the founders of the *Daily.* He believed that but for this contract, which was so far from profitable that he refused to renew it, the *Daily* never would have survived the first year. When the contract expired he returned to service as a foreman on a salary, and the work which he had done for $1450 cost the elder Bowles several hundred dollars more the following year.

After a year the *Daily Republican,* which had at first been brought out as an evening paper, began to appear in the morning. The method of its production, as recalled years later by Chauncey White, reveals the part that the younger Bowles had in making it what he had proposed—a local paper.

It was the practice to set up the type of the whole paper, advertisements, news and editorials, before eight or nine o'clock in the evening, at which time all hands went home to bed. White would lock up all the forms but one, in which space to the extent of half a column

was left open for "late news." "Young Sam" filled that space with local or neighborhood items which he gathered about town in the evening. After all the others were gone home to sleep he was at work. He would leave his copy on the composing stone in the composing room, where Chauncey White would find it when he returned to the office about three o'clock in the morning to get out the paper. That late copy was set immediately and the last form made ready for the press.

VII

GETTING UP STEAM

The *Daily Republican* was not what could be described, with truthfulness, as "a success from the start." With an appalling frankness which would do violence to the present-day "psychology of salesmanship" its difficulties in obtaining a sufficient list of subscribers were repeatedly laid before the people of Springfield with the suggestion that if they wanted a daily paper they must support it. Nor was the youth of eighteen, at whose urging the venture had been undertaken, able to keep continuously at his post even through the first year.

As the winter of 1844-45 came on, the younger Bowles suffered the first of what were destined to be many failures of health. This became so threatening that he was forced to seek a warmer climate; he spent several months in the Southern States, for the most part in Louisiana. His absence necessarily interrupted plans for the paper's improvement, particularly with relation to the development of local news. He had begun to report the names and home addresses of visitors at the local hotels. This bit of enterprise had to be abandoned with others. But in spite of obstacles and disappointments the father stuck doggedly at his task, getting out the best kind of a daily paper he knew how. He was repaid by a personal loyalty on the part of the son which a few years later, under the test of bitter competition, put the *Daily Republican* on an established basis.

While in the South the younger Bowles wrote for the

paper a series of letters, fifteen in all, which, although he was just turning his nineteenth birthday, revealed distinctive traits. He did not then expect that his career was to be that of a writer or assume that he had the necessary qualities. In his early years he wrote slowly and laboriously. Apparently he looked forward to the activities of newspaper management and to the painstaking service of collecting and "boiling down" the news and the views of others.

These letters from the South were not masterpieces. But they were written in a clear and direct style without pretension or obscurity in a day when both pretension and obscurity were in fashion. They combined practical observation with vivid comment in such proportion as to make them readable and informing. They dealt with the climate, the productions and the business of the places visited; they told something of manners and morals, gave an occasional bit of picturesque description, touched on local politics; and drew the inference that slavery was worse for masters than for slaves. No reader could compare them with other series of travel letters, longer and more verbose, from the Middle West and South, which the *Weekly Republican* had printed from time to time in the preceding twenty years without recognizing that they conformed to a different standard of newspaper excellence. Within a column "Young Sam" gave more information and more vivid impressions than older writers had given in three times that space, when they diluted their facts with the thin gruel of pious moralizing.

In one of these letters, typical of the series, young Bowles wrote of the Louisiana sugar and cotton plantations. He gave a careful account of the growing and harvesting of the sugar cane and told the conditions under which it was marketed and the price for which it sold. He was greatly impressed, as probably were the readers of the

Republican, by a sugar planter, who with slave labor, had produced 2,000 hogsheads of sugar that year and sold it for $80,000. But while the sugar growers were making fortunes, those who produced only cotton faced a situation similar in its gravity to that encountered since. The young Northerner took a now familiar view of the problem:

> The remedy of the evil, which the cotton grower of the South has thus thoughtlessly brought upon himself, is obvious, but one whose effect will be gradual. He must raise less cotton—less of one article and more of what he wants—put his land to more various uses—be more economical, and become less dependent on his brethren in other parts of the Union for the necessaries and comforts of life both for himself and his negroes. It certainly cannot be said that the fruitful soil of the Southern portion of the Union is fit for nothing—will produce nothing except Cotton and Sugar; or that because a planter raises either of these two great staples he can raise nothing else—that he cannot turn his attention to other products of the soil—that he cannot raise corn, oats, wheat or other grains—that he cannot grow his own stock, raise his own meat, vegetables, or even make his own clothing and dwellings—but that he must buy from others all these and numerous other necessaries of life.

The elder Bowles, though serious and inclined to draw a moral lesson, never had been guilty of the verbosity of some of the occasional contributors to his columns. His own letters to the paper when he traveled to New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore or Washington were singularly brief and rather lacking in original observation. These Southern letters of the son indicate a contrast between his abilities and those of the father which the young man's further development was to make more notable. To the first Bowles must be given full credit, not merely for painstaking persistence and industry, but for an ability to recognize in the papers from the larger cities

and from the European capitals such matter as would interest his readers. Without that ability he could not have succeeded where others failed. But he did not recognize news in the events of life as it was being lived around him. This more creative instinct, which was the essence of the new journalism, was born in the son. He had, to an extraordinary degree, "the nose for news," as the newspaper vernacular terms the quality.

The son returned from the South in the spring of 1845 and threw himself into the task of producing the daily paper, and of teaching himself how to make it better, with health so far established that it was seven years before he suffered another breakdown. But in his absence the father already had taken the first step toward the paper's improvement. In April, 1845, its page was enlarged from four to five columns. The father had faith in the venture, even though the balance was still on the wrong side of the ledger. He had courage to believe that the way to win was to produce a better paper.

A personal challenge which stirred every fiber of "Young Sam's" being to a combativeness that was to be characteristic of him through the remainder of his life furnished an added impulse to intense effort soon after his return. A prolonged and bitter controversy had developed in Springfield following the installation by the war department of Major Ripley, a military instead of a civilian superintendent at the United States arsenal. The *Republican* had contended that the change was in defiance of law and that the superintendent should continue to be a civilian of practical experience in arms manufacture. But the change had been made for the purpose of introducing greater discipline and efficiency. It was charged that discipline had been lax and efficiency low. Under such circumstances a collision was inevitable.

There were charges on the one side of despotism,

arbitrary discrimination and general injustice. On the other hand it was maintained that discharged workmen had been guilty of assault on those who had taken their places. After the controversy had dragged on for some years, an investigation was held at Washington and Major Ripley formally acquitted. Probably he had been lacking in tact in his initial dealings with a difficult situation, but the *Republican* came in after years to recognize his high ability, demonstrated particularly as chief of ordnance in the Civil War. Except for an interval preceding that war the system of maintaining a military superintendent or commandant at Springfield has since been unbroken and unquestioned.

In taking the part of the armorers, many of whom were substantial citizens, the *Republican* made bitter enemies. One suspects that private manufacturers in and about Springfield were glad to see a severer discipline imposed on the arsenal employees and greater demands laid upon them in their ten-hour day. Those who sympathized with the commandant determined to take their resentment out upon the elder Bowles and the *Republican* by establishing a rival daily paper and ruining his business. An unusual degree of personal animosity seems to have inspired their plan. Warning of it evidently had come some time before the new daily's first appearance. On April 1st, 1846, as the *Daily Republican* was beginning its third year, it declared in an editorial, "The paper is now placed on a permanent basis (we say permanent guardedly and knowing the effort now making by Whigs, whom we have always upheld, to injure us and break us down)."

That month the *Springfield Gazette,* which had been conducted as a Whig weekly since 1831, was changed to a daily. The fight with the *Republican* was on.

Over thirty years later, in the last months of his life,

the second Bowles, then become one of the outstanding figures in American journalism, was asked whether he traced his success to any special impulse at the beginning of his active career. He answered, "Yes. Soon after I took hold of the paper there was a quarrel (it had actually begun some years before) about the management of the armory. The men who differed from my father made it a personal matter against him and tried to break down his business by starting an opposition paper. That roused my ire, and I determined that we would not be beaten. I threw myself into the paper with all my might. After a year my opponents came to me and wanted a truce, but I said, 'No; you began the fight and now you shall have it.' And they did, till they were driven from the field. That fight got my steam up and after that I kept on."

Such was the special stimulus under which, from 1846 to 1848, the *Daily Republican,* with the younger Bowles at the helm, showed a steady improvement in all its details as a newspaper. The refusal to enter into a truce meant that the fight was carried to a finish. In 1848 the backers of the *Gazette* were ready to quit on the best terms the victor would grant. Accordingly, on July 1st, the *Gazette* was sold to the *Republican* for $2250, the price including printing materials worth from $500 to $700. The remaining $1500 was paid for the good will of the *Gazette* and its subscription list, the *Daily Republican* gaining about two hundred subscribers and the *Weekly Republican* about six hundred.

No special attempt was made to hold the *Gazette's* subscribers by running the *Republican and Gazette* in big type across the front page. The *Republican and Gazette* was the title placed, for a time, in comparatively small type at the head of the editorial column; that was the

only sign that the *Gazette* had existed. Doubtless father and son agreed that no further recognition of the past career of the *Gazette* was necessary as a matter of business policy. But there probably was some added satisfaction in this demonstration to their late foes that the *Republican* could comfortably swallow the *Gazette* without even so much as the tail of the latter protruding from its mouth. Otherwise it is not possible fully to explain the contrast with the procedure which had been followed when, after the *Springfield Journal* was absorbed in 1835, the paper continued for three full years to carry across its front page the headline title, *Republican and Journal.*

VIII

J. G. HOLLAND AND OTHER CO-WORKERS

The *Republican,* as it rounded its first quarter century from the beginning of the *Weekly* in 1824, had reached a stage at which its founder and his son required the aid of others, not merely as occasional or even frequent contributors, but as responsible lieutenants or co-partners in the growing enterprise. Of these, Dr. Josiah Gilbert Holland, later the editor of *Scribner's Monthly,* now the *Century Magazine,* who joined the *Republican* in 1849, became the most celebrated. His fame, for a time at least, rivaled that of Samuel Bowles, the second, although due to his work as novelist, poet and moralist rather than to what he wrote as a daily journalist. But while Dr. Holland's connection with the *Republican* was more widely known and remembered than that of any other of the men on whom the successive generations of the Bowles family have depended, the part played by two notable predecessors demands a special word.

In the year that the *Weekly Republican* was born, a young Springfield lawyer began what was to be a public career of high distinction and rare usefulness, including service in the Massachusetts Legislature, where he presided in turn over each of its branches, and in the National House of Representatives at Washington. This was William B. Calhoun. He early began to contribute to the *Republican* on political issues. It is difficult now to determine with certainty those editorials or leading arti-

cles which in the first twenty-five years were written by him and which by the elder Bowles. His was, however, the easier and more flexible style and doubtless the greater capacity for rapid composition. It has passed into the tradition of the *Republican* that to him was due a large share of the credit for maintaining, during that time, the political discussions of the struggling little provincial paper on so high a plane of vigor and understanding, making it even then a political teacher. But while Mr. Calhoun wielded the more brilliant pen, there was never a question that the elder Bowles controlled and directed the policy of his paper.

The other outstanding figure whose influence on the *Republican* began earlier than that of Dr. Holland was George Ashmun. Mr. Ashmun was eight years younger than Mr. Calhoun and succeeded him with the interval of a single term in the National House of Representatives. But he achieved a much wider celebrity in political life through his service as the presiding officer of the Republican convention which nominated Lincoln in 1860 and through the close intimacy with Lincoln which followed.

Mr. Ashmun was a less frequent contributor to the *Republican* than Mr. Calhoun, but, to quote Merriam, "his was the most brilliant and impressive personality at that time in western Massachusetts and he fascinated and helped to mold the younger Bowles, who was his near neighbor." Mr. Bowles once said, toward the end of his life, that the only man he ever felt dominate him was George Ashmun. Mr. Ashmun was more a man of the world than Mr. Calhoun. He had "all the elements of great personal attraction," as Mr. Bowles wrote of him on his death in 1870, and added to this "a subtle and cogent way of putting a case from the standpoint of the

man whom he was seeking to influence." Mr. Bowles continued:

His career in public life is full of striking illustrations of this great power of his. Probably the most notable was the result of his interview with Stephen A. Douglas, directly after the rebels fired on Fort Sumter, and the rebellion was fully launched upon the land. Such were his appeals, such the force of the arguments he addressed to Douglas, the great Illinoisian rose up superior to partisanship, superior to disappointment, and took his stand with the country. "Now," said Mr. Ashmun, although it was very late in the night, "let us go up to the White House and talk with Mr. Lincoln. I want you to say to him what you have said to me, and then I want the result of this night's deliberations to be telegraphed to the country." That interview at the White House between these three men—Lincoln, Douglas and Ashmun—should be historical. Then and there Mr. Douglas took down the map and planned the campaign. Then and there he gave in, most eloquently and vehemently, his adhesion to the Administration and the country. Mr. Ashmun himself briefly epitomized the story, and it went by telegraph that night all over the country, to electrify and encourage every patriot on the morrow.

The great admiration of Mr. Ashmun's life was for his friend, Daniel Webster. That admiration colored the attitude of the *Republican,* as it did his own, toward Webster after the famous "Seventh of March" compromise speech in which Webster disappointed the North and abandoned the Wilmot Proviso. Mr. Ashmun could not and would not go with Webster in abandoning the proviso, but "his personal sympathies were so strongly with the man that, without giving up his principles, he espoused Mr. Webster's side in the ensuing political and personal quarrels and went out of political life in consequence."

Perhaps the most valuable impression which Ashmun made on Samuel Bowles came through a rare gift for social intercourse, exhibited most notably when he entertained in his Springfield home some visiting celebrity such as Thackeray. The example stimulated the young man to the development of his own gifts. There was cultivated in him a talent for quickly forming valuable friendships wherever he went, whether to Washington or to Paris, or across the plains to California, or wherever else in later years he was taken by the intermittent search for health and for the news of the world's affairs. What he learned from Mr. Ashmun helped him to meet both men and women, to draw out that which was most interesting in them, and to gain the material for swift and comprehending estimates of political currents, of individual characters, and of social standards. A native magnetism was quickened by early contact.

The influence of Dr. Holland, like his connection with the paper, was different from that of either Mr. Calhoun or Mr. Ashmun. He added notably to the paper's strength and popularity, but he supplemented rather than guided Samuel Bowles. They remained contrasting personalities, working loyally and well in harness, but never horses of the same color. After receiving $480 the first year and $700 the second, Dr. Holland bought a quarter interest in the paper for $3500.

Dr. Holland was essentially a man of sentiment and feeling. He came to the *Republican* equipped with more literary culture and taste than Samuel Bowles, and he remained through the years of his newspaper activity more an individual writer contributing lay sermons, historical articles and serial fiction than an editor fitting a hundred topics into the making of a daily newspaper. But his style was warm, lucid and effective, and his

lay sermons published later under the title "Titcomb Letters" struck a popular chord in their discussion of such themes as the mutual duties of husbands and wives, of laborers and employers, and the proper conduct of young men and women. He was one of the first to make of the press a pulpit from which to preach direct moral instruction instead of leaving that function as a monopoly of the church. That the public was ready to welcome such a development of daily journalism—since made one of the currently familiar features—when accompanied by Dr. Holland's touch of sentiment and literary grace was made evident by the *Republican's* rapidly growing popularity in the years which followed.

Dr. Holland, if more emotional in his feeling than Samuel Bowles, was also more conservative in his thought. He it was who registered in the *Republican* an opposition, later withdrawn, to the theater, a view which it is doubted that Samuel Bowles ever shared. Certainly when in later years the great actors and actresses visited Springfield on tour, no provincial paper could have given more careful, studious and appreciative attention to their plays and their playing. But the contrast between Dr. Holland and Mr. Bowles not only was useful to the paper; it helped to define the striking personality of each of them. Dr. Holland, cloaked in his idealism and fine tastes, seems to have moved somewhat apart from the common run of men; it was not in him to hobnob with all sorts and conditions quite as did Samuel Bowles, who loved both saints and sinners. Mr. Bowles always insisted in his social relations that the paper as a public servant and he as an individual were separate. The standard of conduct which he demanded was the highest; if a public official had a single weakness it was the *Republican's* duty to pillory him, but if a sinner had a single redeeming trait

or quality, Samuel Bowles was ready to make friends with him on that basis.

Dr. Holland was a man of industry, and the years of his connection with the *Republican* were years of great usefulness. Among his writings, which first appeared in the *Republican,* were his early novels, and a painstaking "History of Western Massachusetts," prepared in 1854-55.

The official relation of Dr. Holland to the *Republican* as compared with the earlier less official relation of Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Ashmun, as editorial contributors, underlines what for seventy-five years has been the increasing policy of the paper in its editorial organization. To a greater degree than some other provincial papers which have aimed at the production of strong editorial pages, and to a notably greater degree than certain of the metropolitan papers, the *Republican* has consistently endeavored to maintain a regular editorial staff, equal to the task of suitable comment on, and interpretation of, the varied affairs of the day. Instead of calling on outside experts, except for consultation, it has sought to have its own experts. To do this has involved a heavy burden on a staff of editorial writers, which, although for many years possibly more numerous than that of any other paper printed outside the big cities, nevertheless has been taxed, not so much in the effort of actual writing as in the determination to uphold a tradition and, by constant study in many different fields, to make the paper's comment informed and authoritative.

For many years the editorials written outside the *Republican* office have been negligible in number. Within the last few years none have been so written. The fruits of this policy must speak for themselves. It contrasts most forcibly with the practices of English journal-

ism. It promotes a coherence of style and thought and a consistently responsible utterance. It is based on the theory that there is a special art and technique in the writing of newspaper editorials and in the condensation of fact and argument within smaller space than that to which the professional in other fields is accustomed. Its success or failure obviously depends on industrious and systematic study.

IX

PREPARING FOR NATIONAL POLITICS

The ten years which followed the return of Samuel Bowles from the South in 1845, with health temporarily restored, saw an extraordinary development in him and in his newspaper. No one in 1845 could have imagined that the nineteen-year-old youth would be taking his place in 1855 as an effective figure in the crowded and uncertain arena of national politics.

The contrast between the *Republican's* reports of the Whig convention at Baltimore in 1844, which had nominated Henry Clay, and that at Philadelphia in 1848, which nominated Zachary Taylor, is too striking to be missed by any reader of the old files. Apparently the elder Bowles had been at Baltimore. The son was the paper's representative at Philadelphia. That which impresses the newspaper student with the reports of the convention of 1848 is that they may be called the first modern political reports the *Republican* ever printed. Although brief, they are charged with the authentic atmosphere of political struggle. The drama is made real. Vivid flashes illuminate the actors. The young reporter has the political intuition to comprehend that the struggle is not between dull, impersonal elements, but between men of rival ambitions and diverse qualities who may be moved by forces greater than they, yet need to be studied, understood and pictured as individuals. In later years, as experience aided him, he did all this far

better. But even in 1848 he gave a measure of that human interpretation which the *Republican,* in reporting the Baltimore convention in 1844, had not thought of attempting.

The year in which he attended his first national political convention and in which the *Republican* triumphantly absorbed the *Springfield Gazette* brought to Samuel Bowles a third and greater event. He married Mary S. D. Schermerhorn in her father's home at Geneva, New York. She was a granddaughter of James S. Dwight, a leading Springfield merchant in the first quarter of the century, and had come to Springfield to attend school. They were married on a Wednesday; there was no time for a wedding journey; three days later the young editor was back at his post. His mother had given, and was still to give for years to come, the aid and comfort of her watchful support. Henceforth, his wife also was to help, in greater measure than can be told here, in making possible, by her devoted and self-sacrificing care, the triumphs of a career which must otherwise have been robbed of them by suffering and ill-health. Asked once in after years to what he attributed his success, Samuel Bowles answered, "I married early and I worked with all my might."

The income on which the young people began married life, making their home, however, with his parents, was the salary of $500 a year, which the husband received from his father. Two years later a property of $10,000 became available to the son, through an inheritance received by his wife. With a portion of this he bought part of the block into which the paper had been moved, and received from his father, in return for the money thus invested, the ownership of one-half of the paper.

The first issue of the *Daily Republican* in 1844 had contained an editorial against the annexation of Texas. The paper had opposed the war with Mexico. But little as it liked Polk and his acts as President, the paper's business was to give the news. And as long as he was in the White House, Polk could make news or its official counterfeit. His last annual message sent to Congress in December, 1848, contained more than 21,000 words and an elaborate defense of the Mexican war. It was for many years the longest message on record. Roosevelt and Taft both surpassed it with written messages incorporating material submitted by department heads. But the revival of the Presidential custom of delivering messages in person makes it probable that no executive will challenge Polk, Roosevelt or Taft in the matter of length. To do so would require him to stand hour after hour painfully reading to a weary and restive Congress.

In 1848 there were no typesetting machines, no sending of Presidential messages to newspaper offices in advance. Polk's message, too long for transmission by the still meager telegraphic facilities of that early period, was received in Springfield at six P. M. on December 6th, 1848, having been delivered in Washington the day before. A feat was accomplished which any newspaper man of to-day must stand ready to salute across the years, when the slender forces of that little country newspaper were so marshalled that the entire message was set by three o'clock the following morning. In the *Republican* of that day, the 7th, it displaced many advertisements and pretty much everything else that the paper ordinarily carried. In addition to printing the message in its own columns, the *Republican* printed it on sheets for nine other newspapers, three of them in Vermont. The *Republican* had graduated from the days when it

sometimes had depended on sheets of the Governor's message similarly printed for it in Boston newspaper offices. It was becoming metropolitan itself, although the place in which it was published was not yet a city.

The fingers which patiently flew over the type cases through that weary night must have been inspired by Samuel Bowles, as he had a gift for inspiring those under him, with the spirit of "beat the other fellow." Certainly the other fellow was beaten. The *Hampden Post,* which had been founded in 1835 as a weekly and had begun publication in June, 1848, as a daily rival of the *Republican,* was not able to get the message set until twelve hours later.

That episode helps to explain why the *Hampden Post* gave up the fight six years later and disappeared. It also helps to explain, perhaps to excuse, the unusual editorial exuberance with which, the following March, the *Republican* greeted Zachary Taylor's inaugural address. That inaugural seems today a colorless state paper. But it had two virtues then. It indicated a purpose not to exercise the veto power and, unlike Polk, who had needed more than 21,000 words, or about fifteen columns, in getting ready to quit, Taylor needed less than one column in getting ready to begin. The *Republican* declared the inaugural "faultless." That verdict probably was sincerely and unanimously indorsed in the composing room.

The first important political utterance of Samuel Bowles, the second, to attract wide attention was an editorial printed in 1848. It seems more notable today for the frank vigor with which it declared a position on the great question of the time, than as a prophecy of the period within which that question was to be settled. If political prophecies were the sole test of good journalism, Samuel Bowles would have against him too many

unfulfilled prophecies to rank in the best company. He threw himself into combat with too great intensity; he was too sanguine, even though prostrated by ill-health, in the triumph of what he believed right, to conceive of the possibility of failure when a less eager contestant and more cautious judge must often have realized that for the moment the chance of success was slight. But his power lay in the fact that he was neither daunted by defeat nor any more embarrassed by prophecies that went awry than by charges of inconsistency.

Mr. Bowles once said: "It is no trouble to me that the paper contradicts itself. My business is to tell what seems to me the truth and the news to-day, and the same to-morrow. That is one of the paper's fascinations. It's a daily journal. I am not to live to be as old as Methuselah and brood in silence over a thing till, just before I die, I think I have it right." So if this first notable editorial missed, as a prophecy, not only the bull's-eye, but the whole target, yet was at the same time a fearless assertion of an uncompromising position, it was not lacking in characteristic qualities. "The slavery question is now before Congress," reads the editorial. "We think it is certain to be settled before Mr. Polk's reign is over. Perhaps it will be done at the present session. That nasty word, compromise, is already introduced in the Senate. Congress is the battleground of slavery and freedom. We are ready to meet the shock. If the North stands by its rights, we triumph; if not, we fall. Our motto is, NO COMPROMISE, NO MORE SLAVE TERRITORY."

Although the slavery question, with all its ramifications, more and more absorbed men's minds, the *Republican* during these years became increasingly a reflector of local life as it more nearly approached the ideal of the

second Bowles in its reporting of local news. In 1848 Springfield was considering application to the Legislature for a charter as a city—a project not carried out until four years later. The *Republican* presented the arguments pro and con with a fullness which until then seems to have been thought suitable only for problems of national policy.

In 1851, twenty-seven years after the founding of the *Weekly Republican,* the elder Bowles died after a brief illness:

"Plain, patient work fulfilled that length of life;
* * * * * * *
Inspired his effort, set for him the strife."

The immediate consequence of his death was that the younger Bowles was forced to take charge of the counting room. For several years the father had devoted himself to this side of the paper, relinquishing editorial duties and direction to the son. But with his growing passion for the development of the *Republican* on the news and editorial side, the son, in spite of the assistance of Dr. Holland, now undertook two tasks instead of exchanging one for another. In the spring of 1852 his health failed again. It was feared that he would become blind. Going to the home of his sister, Mrs. Henry Alexander, in Brooklyn, that he might consult New York physicians, his condition became worse. For a time his life seemed in danger. But gradually a measure of strength was restored, and with it the keenness of his interest in public affairs. Before he was able to return to Springfield he was dictating to his sister letters about politics. For some years he was obliged to use his eyes sparingly, but this experience was not without its useful-

ness to him. It compelled him to depend on others in the business department; it shaped and stimulated his ability, later to become so marked, in concisely outlining to others the editorials of which they were to do the actual writing.

X

FACING THE SLAVERY ISSUE

Samuel Bowles, the second, had been born into a home which had become firm in its Whig allegiance almost by the time he could speak, and as soon as the Whig party was in existence. In his boyhood, the *Republican,* which urged Clay in 1844, had the habit of nominating Daniel Webster for President in black type at the head of the editorial column, and there kept him nominated until the Whigs inconsiderately nominated some one else. Intensifying this joint tradition of Whig sympathies and of veneration for Webster was the reaction which memories of the Hartford Convention had produced in his father. The atmosphere in which he grew up could scarcely have been stronger in its assertion of nationality and the preservation of the Union as the first and greatest of the commandments. Such was his background as the march of events and the anxious political maneuverings of the slaveholding power in the South brought on the issue.

The *Republican* and its editor are to be placed historically as having detested and opposed slavery, as having opposed with special determination its extension into free or newly acquired territory, but not as having sympathized with, or withheld severe and bitter censure from, the Garrisonian abolitionists. It charged that they flouted the laws and the Constitution and threatened the Union.

While the *Republican* stood for a government of law,

its assertion of the moral iniquity of slavery grew more intense with each passing year, except for a season following Webster's tragic "Seventh of March" speech in 1850, when it gave him a regretful support. The paper had advocated the passage of the Wilmot Proviso in keeping slavery out of the states about to be organized. It had no warning in the winter of 1850 of the position which Webster was to take with regard to the famous compromise. On the contrary, George Ashmun, then a congressman in Washington and supposedly in Webster's confidence as much, if not more, than any one else, had sent repeated word to the editor of the *Republican* that Webster would not yield. But when Webster had spoken, Ashmun, although he could not go to the lengths of surrender or compromise that Webster had gone, was ready to sacrifice his public career, so far as concerned the holding of office, on the altar of personal devotion to the man.

Influenced strongly by Ashmun's attitude, the *Republican* continued its allegiance to Webster, and, for a few years more, to a party which had lost its soul and its capacity for further contribution to the cause of good government. During this period, and until the Whigs were swept permanently into the political discard, the *Republican's* voice was less vigorous and its moral leadership more negatived by a partisan affiliation than was to be the case again.

The *Republican* waited for a full report of Webster's speech before making comment on it. An extra sheet giving the speech in full was printed on March 13th. In the same issue the *Republican* said: "We regard the speech as a whole as strictly Websterian—broad, patriotic and honest. We believe that it will have a good effect not only upon the fiery South in soothing disunion agi-

tation, but upon the North in impressing upon it its Constitutional obligations. We are among those, however, who wish it had been more than it is"—that is, "more" of a declaration for the North and in behalf of freedom. While the paper thus continued to support Webster personally it never favored the adoption of the compromise, but the opposition which it expressed during the ensuing months of prolonged debate was, under these circumstances, lacking in the vigor and effectiveness with which Samuel Bowles at every other time in his life opposed anything to which he could not give his approval.

The fugitive slave law, enacted by Congress as part of the compromise of 1850, was the other form in which the *Republican,* its editors and its readers soon were confronted by the overshadowing issue of the time. At first the compromise seemed to have settled and removed the immediate causes of controversy. On its passage it was accepted by the country as a satisfactory solution, at least as the best that could be had. When Congress adjourned in the autumn of 1850, the *Republican,* expressing the general desire to make the best of the situation, said:

> The measures which have at last been carried form a new era in our history. Time alone can develop the beneficence and efficiency of their operation. They have been the best that could be carried to save the Union from dangers which threatened it, and satisfied with this we may only hope they will work out the great and happy results for which they were designed.

It cannot be said that it was in any ignorance of the fugitive slave law that the *Republican* built upon the compromise hopes which so soon proved vain. While the compromise was still under debate, June 3d, 1850, a

correspondent who signed himself "H" had written to the paper a letter of great moral force declaring that the people of the North would aid in the recapture of slaves only "when they forget the Christian law and become callous to every human sentiment." "It is much too late," the writer went on, "to think of enforcing a law so repugnant to the public conscience—if your human cattle escape, we bid them God speed in the race for liberty, and we cannot do otherwise as long as we are men." The *Republican* took the ground, and held it consistently, that social order depended on obedience to law. But in defining its position it added: "The Constitution does not require us to be slave catchers nor to withhold our God speed to a fugitive. Our sympathies are all with him, and they always will be with him. Our simple duty is, when ownership is proved to us through regularly appointed officers, to offer no resistance to his reclamation. If we do, our Constitution is as worthless a piece of parchment as a Mississippi bond."

The question could not remain academic. Early in 1851 a negro was arrested in Boston as a fugitive, but was rescued from the court room by a mob and made good his escape. Somewhat later another negro was arrested and remanded by the United States Commissioner as a slave. In spite of appeals to the State Supreme Court, he was marched through the streets surrounded by armed policemen, while a body of militia was held in reserve in Faneuil Hall! He was placed on shipboard and returned to his master in the South. The *Republican* next day summed up its attitude on the question in this passage:

It is a relief to know that this painful affair has ended, and a source of gratification that the laws of the nation, so boldly threatened in the spirit of mobocratic resistance.

have been sustained. Yet this relief and this gratification, as they must be to every peaceable and law-loving and law-abiding heart, are dimmed by the sense of individual and social wrong, which is thus brought directly home to us as the result of slavery in our country and our Constitution. It is a deep and bitter evil, an anomaly in our Republic, giving the lie to every line of our profession as a people and a nation, and yet a fixed fact that must be met and treated in a broad and catholic spirit, and not with the cowardice of fanaticism, which would pull down the whole fabric because it has one gross imperfection in its frame—and yet we do not propose, therefore, to destroy our family firesides and put asunder what God has joined together.

The issue as the abolitionists saw it, in their denunciation of the compromise and of the Union itself, was brought home to Springfield to the very doors of the *Republican.* In 1835 the famous English abolitionist, George Thompson, who had come to the country to create agitation, had been forced to flee in disguise. But although in 1851 the abolitionists still were subject to mob attack, they were stronger than sixteen years before. Early in 1851 it was announced that Thompson would speak in Springfield. Threats were made that he would not be allowed to appear. A handbill was circulated which denounced him as the "paid emissary and spy of England" and made an undisguised appeal to mob him if he should attempt to speak.

The *Republican* reported the facts and said: "If Mr. Thompson attempts to fulfill his engagement, there will be a very serious disturbance. We should deeply regret such an occurrence, because it would be subversive of those principles of law and order that are at once the foundation and the safeguard of a Republican government; because a gross violation of the free speech of which we boast as one of the greatest liberties guaran-

teed by our Constitution; because disgraceful to our town and country; and because it would tend greatly to assist Mr. Thompson and his American associates in their crusade against our Constitution and our government." In another column the paper noted that Thompson, accompanied by Garrison and Phillips, was to speak in the evening "for the purpose, we presume, of denouncing the American Constitution," and the paper advised citizens to stay away from the meeting.

Thompson and his friends secured a room in which they held slimly attended meetings during the day. There was no disturbance, but the speakers were bitter against the mob, the city authorities and the *Republican.* Thompson charged that the inflammatory handbill had been printed at the *Republican* office and that the paper had incited the mob which made it unsafe to hold a further meeting in the evening. Both charges were denied. But the paper's chief rebuke during the long and bitter controversy which followed was directed not so much at the mob, which prevented Thompson from speaking in the evening and which hanged and burned him in effigy, as at the abolitionists who had declared that they would disobey or resist the law for the return of fugitive slaves.

How greatly the times had changed and how definitely the *Republican* had moved on to new ground is vividly indicated by its attitude when in 1854 the Kansas-Nebraska bill keyed the slavery controversy to a new pitch of intensity. To the *Republican,* the Whig party was now only a useless relic of the past, worth no more as the nucleus of a political organization to withstand the aggrandizement of the slave power than a dead Cæsar to stop the wind. No political affiliation, either to a party or to a once great personality like Webster's, impeded

now the vigor of the editorial pen. Said the *Republican* on May 31st:

> The National Whig party is surely a defunct organization. . . . For ourselves—whatever others may do—we shall advocate the sentiments we have enunciated, party or no party. In the great internal struggle between slavery extension and slavery non-extension, we plant ourselves with the non-extensionists, and we shall join that organization, whatever its name, whatever its leader, that promises most successfully, most safely and most surely for the common weal, to carry out and establish the non-extension principle. Past enmities, past prejudices—let them go. The times demand it. The North and Freedom demand it. Every right which slavery enjoys by the Constitution let it have, and be protected in the fullest; but beyond that let Freedom rule. Here we stand. Here the great bulk of the people at the North are ready to gather, if those who direct public opinion and lead the masses will only let them do it.

Equally reflective of a new depth of feeling and of the hardening of a new determination were the *Republican's* utterances when Anthony Burns was arrested in Boston as a fugitive slave from Virginia, the warrant being issued by C. G. Loring, United States Commissioner and also a Massachusetts judge of probate. The paper now had no space to waste in expressing gratification, as three years earlier in the case of Simms, that the law, however objectionable the institution of slavery, had been allowed to take its course. "The decision of Commissioner Loring was rendered," said the *Republican,* "amid such scenes as God forbid shall ever be witnessed again." The paper went on: "The world now understands, if it never understood before, that the interest cherished most warmly by the American government is property in human flesh. Is there no call for the burial

of all past differences among good citizens, for the one great object of changing the spirit of the legislation of this country?" With unsparing vigor and persistence, the *Republican* joined in, if it did not lead, the demand for Judge Loring's removal from the Massachusetts bench. It summed up the case against him in an editorial over two columns long the following February, when the Legislature was in session. The Legislature voted his removal, but was balked, though only temporarily, by the veto of a Know-Nothing governor. In this editorial the *Republican* said:

> The question is not simply of correct proceeding under the technicalities of the law. Judge Loring may have been true to law, but he was false to liberty and false to Massachusetts. Law gained no honor from his conduct, while liberty and Massachusetts were dishonored.

This was very close, indeed, to that appeal to the "higher law" which the *Republican* itself had denounced. But the political union of all the opponents of slavery which the *Republican* now sagaciously championed day in and day out with broad and conciliatory temper, and with a forbearance of recrimination toward former political opponents, was not to be accomplished until a new and extraordinary political organization, which had grown up almost in a night, was swept from the path of progress as the Whigs had been swept before it. In that sweeping the *Republican* and its editor were to perform historic service.

XI

EXPOSING THE SECRETS OF THE KNOW-NOTHINGS

The parallel between the American, or Know-Nothing, party of 1854-55 and the Ku Klux Klan of 1923-24 may sometimes have been carried too far, but a similarity cannot be denied. It is easier now to understand the Know-Nothings, with their anti-Catholic fanaticism, their anti-alien prejudice, their ritual, and their oaths of secrecy. A party so inspired and recruited never could become the effective agent of the growing sentiment of the North in resisting the further expansion of slavery. Yet when the Whig party collapsed, "died," as it was said, "of trying to swallow the fugitive slave law," the Know-Nothings for a time seemed destined to offer to the Democrats the only serious opposition.

To Samuel Bowles and the *Republican*, Know-Nothingism never had any attraction—unless that of a red flag for a bull. As soon as the new order of party was in the field, and its members had provided its popular name by answering "I Know Nothing" when asked as to its secrets, the *Republican* denounced it and continued to denounce it as long as it existed. But it spread like a prairie fire. It swept numerous states, Massachusetts among them, and men joined it, as they still join whatever may be the popular movement of the hour, for diverse purposes. Pro-slavery Whigs in the South joined to protect slavery; anti-slavery Whigs in the North joined to oppose slavery; and, as Samuel Bowles pointed out

with unsparing pen, those who wanted office joined wherever it promised to have offices to fill.

In June, 1855, state delegates representing the Know-Nothing party met in Philadelphia to hold a convention and to draft a national platform. Instead of being open to the public, after the familiar custom, it was intended that the convention, in accordance with the practice of the party, or order, should be held in secret. Seldom has a design been more completely frustrated. From the beginning to the end of the eight-day gathering—indeed, before the convention began and before all the delegates were assembled—letters and dispatches revealing its intimate purposes and details and dealing unmercifully with the representatives of the slave states and their weak-kneed allies in certain Northern states, notably New York, were printed daily in three newspapers. These papers were Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune,* the *Atlas* of Boston, and the *Springfield Republican.* The dispatches were not identical although they covered much the same ground in the same vigorous, unsparing way. The members of the convention, or "two-thirds of them," were pilloried as "the merest nobodies in character, position and talents —weak tools of political gamblers and slavery propagandists."

The New York delegates, who had been held up to scorn as "poor lick-spittles of slavery" for their subserviency to the South, were furious. They denounced one of the Massachusetts delegates by name, claiming that he was the *Tribune's* correspondent and calling him a "traitor." They were close to the mark; but they had not hit it. The information came chiefly and originally from the Massachusetts delegates, since only delegates were admitted to the convention. But no delegate had penned those biting letters. The indefatigable

correspondent of all three newspapers was Samuel Bowles.

It was Samuel Bowles's good fortune on this occasion that the Massachusetts delegation, led by Senator Henry E. Wilson, afterward elected Vice President on the Grant ticket, was the most outspoken group in the convention opposed to slavery. The *Republican* had fought Wilson's election to the Senate and had attacked him unmercifully for his affiliation with the Know-Nothings. When he showed himself in the Senate and in the convention to be a clear and determined anti-slavery man the *Republican* cordially commended him, frankly referring to its previous opposition, but once more insisting that past rancors should not be allowed to keep the foes of slavery from effective union. But, however much of his material about the Philadelphia convention Samuel Bowles obtained from Senator Wilson, no reports so sweeping in their comprehensiveness and so specific in detail could have been got from one man. He must have buttonholed many men and pumped the facts from them. He pictured the slavery leaders with the unsparing vividness of a "rogues' gallery."

Secrecy had suited the plans of those who controlled the convention. It had been their purpose nominally to evade the slavery issue and practically to give comfort to the South. Resolutions of that sort might most conveniently be offered to the public after unreported sessions, held behind locked doors. Such was the program which Samuel Bowles upset. As the delegates were still gathering, and before the convention had got fully under way, he had written to the *Republican:*

Every hour's experience here increases the conviction of the utter folly and wickedness of this effort to patch up an organization that shall satisfy the nation and shirk the only

vital question of the time. Until the great wrong of Kansas is righted, there is no use of talking about other questions or of building hopes upon parties formed outside of that issue. The true Northern representatives here are seeing this more and more vividly and many of them already earnestly believe that division now is better than a dishonest, irksome truce and would rather go than stay.

Senator Wilson boldly assumed the role of anti-slavery spokesman. He denounced slavery and declared for its abolition in the District of Columbia and its exclusion from Kansas, Nebraska and other territories. The resolution which he offered to the convention was drawn by Samuel Bowles. It read:

> Resolved, that the plighted faith of the nation violated by the unexpected and uncalled for repeal of the Missouri Compromise should be restored, and if efforts to this end all fail, Congress should refuse admission to the Union of any state tolerating slavery, which shall be formed out of any portion of the territory from which that institution was expressly excluded by the compromise of thirty-four years' standing.

This resolution when put to vote with slight and unessential alterations in phraseology was rejected by an overwhelming majority. The hollow fraud which the convention then adopted made pious attack on both Democrats and Whigs for having agitated the slavery question, and proceeded to go the full extreme desired by the slave states in denying the right of Congress to have anything to say about slavery in newly organized states or territories. The history of party platforms is full of hypocrisy. But no platform was ever more inadequate to a great crisis than this.

Furious as were the Know-Nothing delegates against the unknown correspondent who had held them up to

national scorn, they nevertheless still enjoyed a brief period of local power in a number of states, including Massachusetts. But it cannot be doubted that the Philadelphia exposure by Samuel Bowles prepared the way for the political phenomenon of the following year when the Know-Nothings suddenly disintegrated and disappeared from the national stage and the Republican party came forward to wage, under Fremont, its first Presidential campaign.

On the return from Philadelphia of the Know-Nothing delegates, the American party in Massachusetts went at least nominally on record as severing connection with "the National American Council recently held." But they also adopted resolutions reflective of anti-Catholic fanaticism. On June 30th, 1855, the *Republican* addressed them with studied frankness:

Gentlemen of the American organization of Massachusetts! This is not the way to make a party of Freedom. You have no more right to make tests of your distinctive Americanism—your passwords, signs, grips and degrees—than we have of our distinctive Whiggery, or our distinctive religion. They may be all right in their way—all consummations most devoutly to be wished; but all who are willing to join an organization, and give it effective aid and comfort, which shall make the confinement of slavery to the slave states its only distinctive principle, its only test of membership, may not think so. Yours may be a good party of freedom for those who, in addition to believing in no more slave states, believe in and adopt your peculiar forms of organization and your distinctive principles of Americanism; but it is not a party to unite Massachusetts. It is not a party that will win in the great contest to be fought in '56 with the slave power of the country. This is not the way Ohio and Indiana, Vermont and Maine are carrying out the plighted faith of the North at Philadelphia. Your delegates led the column

there. You have thrown them and yourself into the rear rank.

Merriam in his "Life and Times of Samuel Bowles" makes a comment on the Philadelphia achievement which is of special interest to journalists and students of journalistic practice. In Merriam's view, there was a dulling of the moral sense on the part of Samuel Bowles when he induced men who were sworn to secrecy to break their oaths and tell him what was being done or proposed in the convention.

Merriam probably never understood the degree to which the journalist learns in the school of experience to regard oaths of secrecy in political affairs as the cloak of evil. An oath of secrecy, when taken mutually by politicians, becomes to the journalist the password of a conspiracy against the public interest.

In this particular case the *Republican* had long denounced with all the vigor at its command, the un-American secrecy and Klanlike domination of this newly risen order. That the "overmastering passion" of Samuel Bowles was to get the news is undoubted. But he would have asserted that the part he or any other newspaper man might play in tearing off the cloak of secrecy was deserving of praise as a moral act, and that only those who had sworn the oaths of what was, despite its name, an un-American organization, need have troubled consciences.

XII

HELPING TO FOUND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

The part played by Samuel Bowles at the Know-Nothing convention in Philadelphia in 1855 did much to gain national fame for him and for his newspaper. The *Republican* won a recognition from other papers which quickened that of the general public. Not long afterward Horace Greeley said in the *New York Tribune* that the *Republican* was "the best and ablest country journal ever published on this continent."

In February, 1855, the *Republican* declared, with a finality greater than that of 1854, its abandonment of the Whig party as a useless relic. In the same issue in which it cast Whiggery overboard it predicted that henceforth political independence was to be the guiding principle of the press—another too sanguine prophecy. In that issue it also gave evidence of material progress. It again had bought a new press and type and it announced the enlargement of the Saturday issue from four to eight pages—what was then known as a "double sheet." With decks thus cleared forever of the encumbering Whig allegiance and with more sail aloft, the *Republican* was ready to voyage, with a firm hand at the helm, on new political seas.

In 1854 a fusion movement between the Massachusetts Whigs and Republicans had failed because, as the *Republican* said: "The Whig organization, proud of its supposed strength, insisted that everybody should come to

it. It invited concessions but made none." In July, 1855, a month after the Philadelphia Know-Nothing convention, the *Republican* appealed once more for a new party, asserting that this was favored by all the old Whig press, all the free-soil papers, and nearly all the independent papers in Massachusetts. It announced that a conference of influential men was proposed to consider ways of accomplishing fusion under the banner of the Republican party.

The conference was called to meet in Boston on August 16th. At the time the call was issued Mr. Bowles was away from the office, covering, according to his habit, the Amherst and Williams commencements—college commencements were then given a significantly larger space and importance in the papers than to-day. Without consulting him, those who issued the call put his name first on the list of its signers. The *Republican* stated on August 13th that this was done by mistake.

Mr. Bowles would have preferred, in the interest of practical political efficiency, an opportunity in advance of the call to see if the Know-Nothings, or the better element among them, could not also be swung into line. But he accepted the situation. He called the conference to order and became a member of the committee appointed to summon a state convention held at Worcester September 20th. Except for his appointment, some years before when a very young man to share in the more or less perfunctory task of carrying the state's electoral vote to Washington, and for his service in 1853 as Whig county chairman, this was as close as he ever permitted himself to come to occupying an official political position. It was his creed that a newspaper man should not accept public office and should keep himself free from every entanglement that might affect his independence.

The Know-Nothings could not be induced to join the new movement. The conservative Whigs insisted on naming their candidate. The small remnant who voted for him would have been enough to elect the Republican candidate, who ran second. In this way the Know-Nothings reëlected their Governor.

The year 1856 was to tell a new story on the national stage. It would be hard for one man to report for his newspaper more national political conventions than Samuel Bowles reported for the *Republican* that year. But these absences, which were so important to the recognition of the paper and its chief, call for a halt in the story to tell of the added lieutenants whose loyal labors made them possible.

In 1854 Clark W. Bryan, who had edited the *Berkshire Courier* at Great Barrington, had joined the staff of the *Republican.* It was a time when Mr. Bowles was still partially disabled by the weakness of his eyes resulting from his breakdown in 1852. Mr. Bryan had proved his energy by participating in the elaborate organization of the *Republican's* system of gathering election returns. This is a feature on which the paper has long prided itself and to which it has devoted special effort. But it was more picturesque and difficult of accomplishment in days when there were neither telephones nor automobiles, when telegraphic facilities were meager and when there had to be much hard use of horse flesh over country roads. On coming to Springfield Mr. Bryan threw himself into the new task with that reckless expenditure of energy to which the fascination of newspaper work offers a special temptation. He did all sorts of work, worked all sorts of hours, and brought on his own breakdown after a year of it.

On Mr. Bryan's recovery a job printing establishment

was bought, and he was taken into the firm, the other members of which were Mr. Bowles and Dr. Holland. For the next twenty years this firm, with some changes, carried on, in addition to the publication of the *Republican,* a general printing and book-binding business that became highly prosperous. Mr. Bryan took charge of it in 1855, and also of the business department of the newspaper, which was joined at about this time by Benjamin F. Bowles, younger brother of Samuel.

As Mr. Bryan dropped out of editorial work there came to the aid of Samuel Bowles the most brilliant of all his editorial lieutenants and the one to whom he became most deeply attached by ties of affection and gratitude. This was Joseph E. Hood. For fourteen years, until failing health forced him to seek recovery in the far West, Mr. Hood served the *Republican.* His ability and fidelity would make a chapter than which the annals of newspaper work can hold none finer. So far as culture is gained from books, his was a broader culture than that of his chief. When death came to him in 1871 at Denver, Mr. Bowles was by his bedside. Drawing aside the curtains of that anonymity which is peculiar to journalism, Mr. Bowles wrote to the *Republican* revealing this portrait of a happy warrior who, in the ranks of the profession, lifted high its ideals:

> So little of personal fame and public observation, with so much of real public service, and so much of real influence, it seems to me, was never united in one life as in that of this late associate of ours. The *Republican* has had many capable and faithful servants, but no one who united so much of capacity with so much of fidelity as Mr. Hood; and few of its readers knew how much of the varied charms and value of its columns during these fourteen years was due to his sagacity of thought, varied culture, lively interest

in all progress, and delicate deftness of expression. His life seemed very narrow; he knew as few people personally in Springfield as in Denver; yet to him it was very rich. He loved his work only less than he loved his home; he spent his time between his pet corner in the office and his family fireside; the one sustained and upheld him for the other; together they more than satisfied all his nature. He felt the great though unseen power he was exerting through the paper; he had no ambition to stand in nearer or personal relations to his audience; his wife and children gave him all he wanted else.

Then going on to tell of Mr. Hood's last illness, Mr. Bowles wrote:

The summer was to him that of a quiet but growing invalidism—he was better and worse, but the worse grew upon him, and within the last month he has rapidly failed. He held on till his old chief and friend—nominal master, but real pupil in all that was sweetest and purest and noblest in personal and professional life—came to sit by his bedside and to exchange for the last time greetings and partings. Then he quietly sank away—in peace and in resignation, with sweet thoughts of the past, with sweeter faith in the future. No life was ever better lived than this; no man did more and better work on earth, and made less noise about it; no memory could be more grateful to friends and relatives; no example purer and nobler. He was both an honor and an ornament to the profession of American journalism—he was more and better, a glory to humanity.

Samuel Bowles was not easily moved; it was his habit to speak justly and fearlessly of the dead. The two men had worked together with an extraordinary sympathy and understanding. Possibly no one on the paper ever served so perfectly in giving expression to the editorial thoughts which Mr. Bowles outlined.

At this time, and for many years afterward, W. S. Robinson, who wrote over the pen name, "Warrington," was the *Republican's* brilliant and effective Boston correspondent. He was more of a radical than Mr. Bowles, especially on abolition. In his correspondence, he often severely criticized men and measures favored by the *Republican* in its editorials. Such freedom has been the paper's traditional policy toward correspondents in Boston or Washington or elsewhere, in whose integrity it placed confidence even if its judgment and theirs did not always agree. It never has been necessary for a Boston or a Washington representative of the *Republican* to explain what he had written by saying, "The office told me to write thus and so." As long as a correspondent was employed, he was expected to form his own judgments and to express them.

At Washington then, and for more than a score of years afterward through the Civil War and the reconstruction period, was D. W. Bartlett. His letters and dispatches appeared in the *Republican* over the pen name, "Van." Mr. Bartlett was a highly trained, faithful and industrious newspaper worker with a keen sense of "human interest." In later years he used humorously to recall a time when Whitelaw Reid, who was eventually to have millions to spend as owner of the *Tribune* and as ambassador at the Court of St. James, was also a member of the Washington corps of correspondents, and being "dead broke" was grateful to Mr. Bartlett for the privilege of sharing the latter's room until his fortunes were temporarily repaired.

Mr. Bartlett was in the press gallery of the House of Representatives, soon after the present chamber was first used, on an occasion when, during a slavery debate, the House came nearer to violence and probable murder

in its own ranks than at any time in the history of the government. This was the day, as Mr. Bartlett used to recall it, when Galusha A. Grow of Pennsylvania appeared to have knocked down an intoxicated Democrat from South Carolina by the name of Keit, although in fact Keit had reeled and fallen without Grow's having laid hand on him. Weapons were drawn by members on the floor of the House. An excited newspaper correspondent, representing a New York paper, had started to climb down from the press gallery with a knife instead of a pen between his teeth, when he was caught and suspended by his coat-tails by calmer colleagues.

This was the situation when Representative Barksdale of Mississippi, whose flowing auburn locks, measuring to the "statesman's cut" of that period, had been the envy of the whole House, was suddenly and unexpectedly revealed to be as bald as an egg. The first offensive motion had sent his wig flying from his head. In acute embarrassment he picked it up only to clap it on wrong side foremost, with the flowing locks which should have reached his shoulders hiding his face, but leaving his skull still bare and naked. This was too much even for that tense moment. The House gasped, broke into uproarious laughter, and put away its weapons, one of which had been a cuspidor of the immense pattern of that day which a diminutive Massachusetts member had seized and held aloft for use either as a shield or an explosive bomb.

Samuel Bowles attended in January, 1856, the first national political convention of the year—that which the Know-Nothing party held in Philadelphia. Again Mr. Bowles covered the event for the *New York Tribune* as well as for the *Republican*. But since his exploit of

the year before, all attempt at secrecy was abandoned. The Southern element was still in the saddle, a pro-slavery platform was adopted, and Millard Fillmore was nominated for the Presidency. There was neither light nor hope in that quarter.

In June the Democrats held their convention in Cincinnati. Mr. Bowles was there to report for the *Republican* the nomination of James Buchanan and to tell how and why it was brought about to gull the voters of the North. Later that month the Republican party held its first national convention at Philadelphia. Mr. Bowles was there to wire back to his readers in Massachusetts the news and the hopes he founded on it. His hopes at that hour were high. His own state justified them. In the election Massachusetts gave to Fremont a vote of two to one over both his opponents. As a national organization the Know-Nothing party was dead. Few had done more than Samuel Bowles to kill it. Yet as the nation went to the polls he did not indulge such prophecies as those to which hope often tempted him. The Republican never had been so brilliant nor full of power as in this campaign. On the day of the election it summed up the situation:

> The real abstract question at issue between the two parties is, whether Congress shall control the destinies of the territories, and dedicate them as of old to freedom, or whether they shall be left for bitter and bloody struggles between the settlers, like those which in Kansas now shock the moral sense of civilization everywhere. Practically the question is whether the influence of the national government shall be used to extend slavery and aggregate its political power, or to limit its bounds and weaken its hold over the politics, the business and the religion of the nation. Were the issue

thus plainly known of all men there would be no dispute of the result.

The American party stepped in at an inopportune moment, overwhelmed the true issue before the country, and turned aside the minds of many men by the glittering success which it momentarily won. And if the Republican party fails to-day to inaugurate that revolution in the national government—which must come ere this generation passes away, or the government itself perishes—the responsibility cannot be escaped by the American organization. To its door must the defeat of John C. Fremont and the election of James Buchanan be laid. By implanting in many minds a weak substitution for the strongest issue, and by keeping temporarily in the Democratic ranks many who but for their opposition to Americanism would have rallied around the Republican standard, it has given fresh strength to the Democracy, and enabled them to contest this election with a fair prospect of success.

The result of the struggle is in great doubt, and the eagles of victory are as likely, perhaps, to perch on the one side as on the other, to-morrow morning. Of the two contestants, the Republicans can alone afford to be beaten. With the Democracy, defeat is destruction. The party is only held together by its alliance with the national treasury and the slave-holder. Separated from one, it becomes useless to the other, and its power is gone. But a reverse cannot break the Republican column. It has an enduring vitality in its principles, and a glorious destiny, as sure as the Republic has an existence. Whether it enters upon the affirmative exercise of its mission now or four years hence is to all seeming the only question of today. Time will only vindicate its truthfulness, its necessity, and its strength. It can afford to wait if the country and world can afford to have it. But the country cannot afford to wait for its healing, peaceful mission, and though we look not upon the day's struggle with confidence of victory, we await its result with a buoyant hope that the day and the hour of redemption have come.

Hopes were doomed and Fremont, as the *Republican* said the morning after, was beaten "by the ignorance of the people."

Early the following year, as a result of the attention the *Republican's* journalistic leadership had attracted, particularly in Massachusetts, Samuel Bowles was induced, unwisely as it proved, to go to Boston to assume the editorship of a newspaper which was the combination of three then existing and published under the name of the *Traveller*. He cautiously retained his interest in the *Republican,* leaving Dr. Holland in charge as editor. He also left his family in Springfield until the success or failure of the new venture should be determined. He threw himself into the Boston work with characteristic energy, but success was not possible. Those with whom he had associated himself lacked his conception of a plain-spoken, independent newspaper, however much Boston may have needed it. Nominally, Mr. Bowles was given editorial command. But after four months of intense labor he saw that a permanent achievement was impossible without the faithful support of men who saw eye to eye with him. He insisted on terminating the arrangement. The *Traveller* at once shortened sail, abandoned the eight-page paper to which he had promoted it, and resumed a more cumbersome four-page form. It abruptly changed its politics and supported Governor Gardner, who was again nominated by the Know-Nothings—a party that was now dead though some of its members had not yet found it out.

Other offers to engage in newspaper work in the big cities, particularly an ambitious plan for the establishment of a paper in Philadelphia, had come or were yet to come. But Mr. Bowles never again seriously considered leaving the *Republican.* For the twenty-one remaining years of his life, he devoted his full strength and thought,

interrupted only by periods of illness and necessary recuperation, to realizing in the *Republican* as nearly as he could his idea of what a newspaper should be. After a brief interval of rest, following the disappointing Boston experience, he resumed work at the old stand. Dr. Holland surrendered the editorship and resold to Mr. Bowles the third interest which he had acquired five years before. He retained his connection with the paper for nine years more, but for most of that time it was as an invaluable contributor rather than as a general editor.

In 1860 the *Republican* favored the presidential nomination by the Republicans of N. P. Banks. He had been elected Governor of Massachusetts in 1857 when the Know-Nothing party passed from power as a state organization, as it already had passed from direct influence as an organization in national politics. He had been elected Speaker on the 133d ballot after the prolonged struggle in the House of Representatives lasting from December 3d, 1855, to February 2d, 1856.

To Mr. Bowles, as to most men in the East, the nomination of Lincoln, until they came to know him better in the trial of war, was the triumph of politically available mediocrity over the superior talents of other candidates. Nor in the campaign which followed does one find in the *Republican* the same pressure of earnest resolve that had marked it in 1856. Lincoln's election was regarded as settled. The almost languid popular interest in the election was reflected in the *Republican* by less frequent references to the candidates and the issues than those to which its readers had been accustomed during the campaign of 1856. There is little suggestion in the files of 1860, prior to Election day, that the nation

was sleeping on a volcano. Even Lincoln himself later declared in his journey to Washington: "This crisis is all artificial. It has no foundation, in fact. . . . Let it alone and it will go down itself."

XIII

THE CIVIL WAR

The history of a newspaper in a great war is the history of the war itself with its political, social and economic developments as well as its military triumphs and disasters.

The files of the *Republican* from 1861 to 1865 reflect the growing purpose and determination of the North, first to preserve the Union, and then to free the slaves. They reflect the economic changes caused by the rising prices of raw materials essential to industry in general and to newspaper production in particular; and they reflect journalistic progress and increased circulation.

The war stimulated the reading of newspapers throughout the country. But to Springfield it also brought a relatively large increase in population. Here were made the weapons with which the war was won. The employees of the United States Arsenal in its war-time manufacture of the Springfield rifle rose rapidly from a few hundred to a force of nearly 3000. Within three years the population of the little city increased by more than half, reaching 22,000 in 1865.

The circulation of the *Daily Republican* doubled during the war and so did its price, which was first raised from two cents to three and then to four. The cause of the increased price, which similarly affected papers in the larger cities, was the mounting cost of white paper. According to a statement in the *Republican* in 1864,

the price of paper had risen, from ten cents a pound before the war, to twenty cents. It was finally to reach thirty cents a pound. Wood pulp was not then used for the manufacture of paper, and there was a shortage of rags, which in part might be attributed to the need of bandages for the wounded. The *Republican* uttered a warning that the only relief would lie in finding a new material from which paper might be made.

There was at this time a thirty-five per cent duty on imported paper, and the newspapers demanded its removal. The demand seems to have been met by the manufacturers in the manner made famous by the man who was charged with having stolen the kettle. They declared, in the first place, that the duty was essential to the existence of their industry, and, in the second place, that it made no difference in the price of their product. "The kettle," said the accused man, "never was borrowed; furthermore, after I borrowed it I returned it." The *Republican* reported in 1863 that, as a part of the demonstration against reduction of the tariff, the firm of Cyrus W. Field & Company of New York had offered to give bond to furnish the *New York Times* with domestic paper at the price at which foreign paper could be delivered after deduction of the duty.

If the South had overestimated the inevitable effects to slavery of the election of a Republican President in 1860, the North had underestimated the reactions in the South which followed that result at the polls. The *Republican* shared in the error. Mr. Bowles, in spite of the ill-health that now always was pressing on him, was sanguine and optimistic. He refused to take threats of Southern secession at face value. The *Republican* expressed the view, immediately following Lincoln's election, that all the Southern states except South Carolina would decide

against secession. It held, November 10th, that South Carolina might go if she would, evidently confident that she would return, but must not touch the Federal forts within her territory, nor refuse to pay Federal duties on her imports; otherwise she must suffer armed coercion.

On November 15th, 1861, the paper declared that if South Carolina sought to withdraw from the Union by peaceful negotiations, her withdrawal should be permitted. It added, "A Union that must be maintained by force is not desirable." This was a very different position from that which the paper took a few months later, and which it was thereafter to maintain with an insistent, unsparing vigor that through four years of war, brooked no modification of the demand for the preservation of the Union and a complete Northern victory. But through the early winter of 1860-1861 the *Republican* hoped for peace and a spontaneous collapse of the whole secession movement before it developed into hostilities.

From the moment that hopes of peace proved false there was neither uncertainty nor doubt in the *Republican* as to what should be done. Whether or not Mr. Bowles, whose health forced many absences, had himself written, seen or countenanced the early suggestion that South Carolina might be permitted to withdraw, he no longer tolerated that thought. With the government faced by rebellion, the *Republican* demanded and continued to demand the persistent use of force until the rebellion was put down and the Union reëstablished. Its attitude from this time onward is illustrated by a portion of an editorial printed July 9th, 1861:

> There are three ways in which a Northern man can give aid and comfort to the traitors who are making war on the Union. One is by joining them personally and helping them to fight their battles. Another is by remaining at home and

stealthily sending them arms and munitions of war. And still another is affording them moral support by assuring them that the rebellion cannot be put down by force and by advocation of concessions to the traitors, or consent to the dissolution of the Union, if they cannot be coaxed back by concession and compromise.

The resources of a country newspaper were not sufficient for it to send special war correspondents to the front. In that field of endeavor it could not vie with the metropolitan papers. Of these the *New York Herald* was the most enterprising. Even in that day of relatively small things, the *Herald* is estimated to have spent $500,000 during the four years of the war in securing news from the armies. But the *Republican* had its daily telegraphic dispatches giving the war news, so far as it was available, either at Washington or at the front, through the regularly organized sources. Usually these filled a couple of columns. D. W. Bartlett ("Van") sent his dispatches and letters from Washington commenting on and interpreting the news, and "Dunn Browne" (Rev. Samuel Fiske), a chaplain with a Massachusetts regiment, sent many letters more valuable for their vivid, intimate touch than for general news.

Probably no provincial paper gave more telegraphic news from the seat of war than the *Republican,* but it was obliged to gain its further national reputation in other ways than by scoring its own "beats" from the front or by circumventing the awkward and uncertain censorship of that day. Its distinctive quality through the war depended, to no small degree, on the manner in which it painstakingly handled, condensed, rewrote and arranged the regular war news, but more largely on its editorial performance.

The Gethsemane through which the nation passed before it reëstablished the Union is more emotionally pictured in the war editorials than in the actual war dispatches. In the editorials there is a freer expression of hopes doomed to disappointment, of confidence in men and events destined to prove ill-founded. It is not, however, in the pathetic record of dreams of early victory and restored peace that the individual quality of the *Republican* is discovered. Those were but the common dreams of the time. They furnish the background for the *Republican's* refusal, when they proved vain and when the path of sorrows stretched indefinitely long, to consider any settlement short of reunion or any conclusion of the war which should be less than a victory.

Each Saturday when the *Republican* printed its "double sheet" of eight pages, and when the front page was given over to reading matter instead of advertisements as on other days, the chief feature of that page was a carefully edited and condensed review of the war news of the week. It gave intelligibility and continuity to the reports from the different armies in the separated areas of struggle and to the relation of these to the political or semi-political news from Washington. These reviews were carefully and studiously done. Their author seems, for at least a great part of the war, to have been W. H. Pomeroy, who early in the sixties was made managing editor, Mr. Hood being chief editorial writer under Mr. Bowles.

Evidently Mr. Pomeroy did his work with the aid of all the maps on which he could lay his hands. He broke into the editorial column one morning with an earnest injunction to the *Republican's* readers to have their own maps and to use pins on them, to mark the advance or

withdrawal of the armies, in ways recently made familiar during the World War of 1914-1918.

With all the duties which each member of a little staff of five (it rose to seven at the end of the war) had to perform in those days, there was small opportunity for an editor to study books of military science. Few such books would have been available had there been an opportunity. The *Republican* never abdicated its function of independent criticism, and had its frank statements to make, as the war went on, about the incompetence and vanity of Northern generals. But its editorials do not indicate the belief, evidently entertained in certain newspaper offices in New York, that the editorial sanctum was possessed of military strategists and geniuses of a higher order than any under arms. The editorial service which the *Republican* rendered was political. In 1863, however, as Lee made his invasion and the day of Gettysburg approached, the *Republican,* disturbed and departing from its usual realm of thought, urged that Lincoln himself take command in the field. It believed that he was at least as good a strategist as the Northern generals had until then proved themselves, and that his presence would stimulate the troops and arouse enthusiasm.

At the beginning of the war the *Republican* had shared the now pathetic hope that General Scott, despite his years, was to lead the North to early triumph. In an editorial entitled "General Scott and the Army" printed July 9th, 1861, it defended him against criticisms of delay, and in doing so used superlatives which history has hardly endorsed:

But the grand army moves at last. "At last?" Well, how long is it? About one hundred days since the President's call for 75,000 troops! And what has been done in

one hundred days? An immense army has been brought into the field, many of them armed with implements of war imported from Europe since the call was made. This army has been drilled, inured to camp life and made effective. . . .

. . . We have at the head of our armies the greatest captain living. No true American—not even those who find fault with General Scott—would be willing to acknowledge that he has his superior as a general in the world. It was he who in the dark days of the past year has been found faithful among the faithless. It was he who devised the means for guarding the capital during Mr. Lincoln's inauguration and who contributed more than any other man to his peaceful occupation of the White House.

The vexed question of emancipating the slaves subjected Lincoln to severe attack. His radical critics, of whom there were many in Massachusetts, hotly declared that he moved too slowly. In this criticism the *Republican* did not share. It had too keen a conception of political values not to see, with Lincoln, that precipitate action with regard to emancipation might imperil the whole Union cause through loss of elements in the border states whose adherence was essential. Yet the Massachusetts Republicans, assembled in convention in 1862, purposely slighted and affronted Lincoln by omitting all reference to him from their platform—a sign of their disapproval of his delay. For this the *Republican* rebuked them. In September, 1861, when, to the deep offense of Bryant and the *New York Evening Post* and of Greeley and his *Tribune*, Lincoln reversed Fremont's order freeing the slaves in Missouri, the *Republican* had said:

It is gratifying to know that we have a President who is as loyal to law—when that is made to meet an emergency—as he is to meet an emergency for which no law

is provided. The President is right, the proclamation stands as modified and General Fremont remains in command of the army of the Mississippi Valley—the recipient of the prayers of a nation for his prosperity and success.

In the days of Jackson's war on the United States Bank the *Republican* had declared that the fundamental need was a sound currency. When the stress of financing the Civil War impaired the better judgment of many men, the *Republican* strongly supported the national bank act and opposed inflation of the currency with a vigor and an understanding of the problems of banking and currency which hardly can fail to impress the reader today.

In January, 1863, when Lincoln sent his message to Congress objecting to the further issue of legal tender notes, the *Republican* severely criticized the members of the two Houses for their reception of it and declared the President's position to be right. It noted that in the Senate the message was treated with such disrespect that it was not even ordered printed in accordance with the usual procedure and that in the House of Representatives it was received with "ironical laughter." For this performance, combining lack of financial wisdom with gross and unseemly discourtesy to the chief executive, the *Republican* rebuked those members of the President's own party who had thoughtlessly stooped to humiliate him. Thus on two striking and important occasions the paper gave to Lincoln a support which history has justified, but which at the time was notably lacking from the official representatives of the Republican party, in the one case in Massachusetts and in the other at Washington.

Lincoln's Gettysburg speech occupied in the *Republican* of the morning after about a "stick full" of type under a small sub-heading at the right-hand bottom corner

of the page, where it followed immediately after Everett's polished but forgotten oration. The speech was received by telegraph and, not improbably, in view of the telegraphic facilities of the time, late in the evening. But the quality of Lincoln's immortal words was not lost. On the second day the *Republican* printed a separate editorial on Lincoln's speech. It declared that, "surpassingly fine as Mr. Everett's oration was," the honors of the occasion were won by President Lincoln, whose "little speech" was "a perfect gem, deep in feeling, compact in thought and expression."

In 1863 Lincoln's prospects of reëlection were dubious. When Bennett's *New York Herald* came out in favor of his reëlection the *Republican* declared that that fact had killed Lincoln's chances "deader than a door nail," an opinion which apparently was impelled more by lack of respect for the elder Bennett's journalistic ethics than by lack of respect for Lincoln's ability. But while the paper supported Lincoln at times when he was gravely in need of the support of his own party and did not get it, it also criticized him. Not otherwise could Samuel Bowles have exercised what he considered the independent function of the press. It criticized Lincoln for interfering with military operations and for listening to military tale bearers at the time of Burnside's relief from command of the army of the Potomac. Earlier still, in the months between Lincoln's election and his assumption of office, Mr. Bowles left a record of how little he then understood Lincoln by referring to him as "a simple Susan" in a letter to a friend. But on the question of supporting the administration by the grant of adequate power for the conduct of the war, the *Republican's* voice rang out strongly.

On March 14th, 1863, in a critical period for the Union cause, the *Republican* printed an editorial on "Liberty and Centralization" in which it argued for giving to the federal government whatever power was necessary to meet the crisis and to win the war. This editorial concluded as follows:

> We want the solid and assured peace that a restored Union alone can give, and with that will cease the occasion and possibility of power to be vested in the hands of any administration for the subversion of our liberties. We must make the government strong quickly that it may not be strong too long.

The tributes paid to Lincoln in the Northern press after his assassination are of less value in indicating the varying degree to which the men of his time had come to understand and support him than are the estimates written and printed while he was still alive and needed support, particularly in 1864. How fully Samuel Bowles and the *Republican* had come to appreciate Lincoln before his death and how nearly they had come to forecast the later verdict of history is indicated in an editorial printed in 1864 in which the *Republican,* having long since forgotten its fling at Bennett and the *Herald,* spoke of Lincoln in these terms while urging his reëlection:

> The great American republic is seeing the most remarkable days in its history. Beyond all figure of speech, and in the sublimest reality, it is being born again—casting out the old and bringing in the new—adjusting its gigantic forces, amid storm and convulsion, for a new life and a fresh career. There is a growing faith, in the minds of the far-seeing, in the resources and the issues of public virtue—a growing faith that, through the popular patri-

otism and good sense, and sound principle, we shall come out of the struggle regenerated.

Abraham Lincoln is the representative of the simple truthfulness and the honest and all-enduring patriotism of the American people. He is a man who believes in the people, believes himself to be the agent of the people, believes in the rule of the majority, believes in the power and prevalence of the right, believes in human equality, and believes that the Union can and will be saved from disruption. He is a man not spoiled by political ambition —a man whose patriotic instincts have ever been uppermost—a man of sound sense and simple aims—a man without duplicity—a man above all bribery—a man who is not sympathetic with the rebellion, or its leaders, by the smallest filament of character or interest—a man above all suspicion in his loyalty—as true to the country as Jefferson Davis and all who sympathize with him are false to it.

People may say what they will of the President; they cannot possibly put their hand upon, or point to, any other man in the republic who represents to the people, North and South, the honest loyalty and the real democratic principle of the country, as Abraham Lincoln. He stands out from all the men of his section, and his time—and not alone by reason of his office—as the representative of the republicanism of the republic; the champion of democratic principle, the friend of the Union and the Constitution, and the foe of all class privilege and class domination. Every man, loose from the bondage of political ambition, and loose from the greed of power and the love of slavery, thinks well of Abraham Lincoln, and casts in his lot with him. Thousands of Democrats, converted to freedom by the war, have, from the moment of their conversion, become his friends. His way of saving the country is recognized as the only way. A conquered peace is the only peace deemed possible.

XIV

INDEPENDENCE IN WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

The political independence of the *Republican* dates nominally from the Grant-Greeley campaign of 1872. Actually it dates from the declaration in 1855, confirming and adding force to that of 1854, that the Whig party was a useless relic and that a new party, free from the dead hand of the past, was the only hope of successful opposition to the slave power.

Samuel Bowles had shared in the organization of the Republican party in Massachusetts. Twenty years later, on November 8th, 1876, writing in the supposition that Samuel J. Tilden had just been elected President, he gave his estimate of the party's historic services in the national crisis over the slavery issue. In that year he had supported Hayes, but believing that the election of Tilden marked the end of a chapter, he seized the occasion for an appraisal of earlier political developments. He said editorially:

> The Republican party has achieved the grandest work of any party in our political history. The Federalist party had the great mission to sustain the new framework of government till the gristle hardened to bone, a bold and brilliant experiment, it is true, but in moral grandeur not to be compared with the work of the Republican party.

Such was Mr. Bowles's matured conviction in the closing years of his life of the role the Republican party had played. But even in the days when its greatest work

was being performed he never became a party mouthpiece nor permitted his paper to be merely a party organ. The path of service, and to such success as might come, had but one signpost, the motto which he adopted for the *Republican,* "All the News and the Truth About It." Even in the days of the Civil War when, not without mistakes, the Republican party was doing the work which won from him this later tribute to its "grandeur," he regarded it only as an agency to good government, and the restoration of the Union.

In 1863 the *Republican,* although supporting Republican candidates for other offices, favored a local Democratic candidate for the Legislature. This was because of the unfitness of the Republican candidate and because the Democrat wasn't "Democrat enough to prevent his making a most useful and influential representative." In 1861 the paper had called for a dropping of all party lines in state politics, and a "people's convention." This, it argued, should appeal to loyal Democrats as well as to Republicans and give to the support of the government a greater mass of popular opinion undivided by party rivalry.

"In the name of the Republican masses of the old Bay State," said the *Republican,* "we protest against the policy of its [the Republican party's] pensioned leaders to hold on with their contemptible party gloves to the reins of power." The editorial went on, "For ourselves we ignore all personal friendships and all old party preferences in the strong desire and firm determination that Massachusetts shall have a clean and patriotic record in this election."

As an argument in favor of its plan for a people's convention the paper declared that the better Democrats desired that no Democratic ticket should be named, and it

made another too sanguine prophecy in an editorial entitled "Massachusetts Politics" which appeared September 18th, 1861, the day on which the Democrats were to hold their convention in Worcester. "We venture to predict," it declared, "that no nomination will be made at Worcester to-day." The Democrats went ahead and named their ticket before the sun had set. The *Republican* had to console itself with the fact that the Democratic delegates from the western end of the state, whose mind it knew best, had been opposed but could not bring the whole convention to their way of thinking.

In this more prudent age, when the world is full of wonders, editorial writers are less given to prophecy. This is consistent with the greater caution of news columns in which a murderer caught red-handed is referred to as the "alleged murderer," his rights guarded and his feelings spared, until the court pronounces sentence. In days of less scrupulous care, political prophecies on the editorial page were more common. The campaign of 1861 did not add to the prophetic reputation of the *Republican* but it demonstrated that Samuel Bowles and his paper were ready to take a position of independent criticism with regard even to the party which they had helped to found only six years before.

The *Republican* had consistently and vigorously favored giving to the federal government during the progress of hostilities whatever temporary and extraordinary powers might be needed to win the war most quickly. But it also was watchful of the preservation of civil liberties which in time of war, as has been shown more recently, are apt to be dangerously invaded. It had, for example, earnestly protested that the trial of civilians by military courts in loyal or pacified states where the civil tribunals were open and unobstructed, was unconstitutional. It had

argued the point carefully and at length. For this it had been denounced in the hysterical excitement of the war period as a "copperhead" sheet. The question finally was argued before the Supreme Court in 1866 in the so-called Milligan case. The *Republican* was not a party to the suit. But when the court handed down its decision, the full bench so far agreeing as unanimously to uphold the position the *Republican* had taken, the paper pointed out that if there was anything "copperhead" about it, it was in good company.

To the problems of reconstruction the *Republican* gave thought long before the fighting ceased. In December, 1863, it had hailed with instant approval Lincoln's early reconstruction proposal. It declared the plan to be evidently Lincoln's own conception and approved granting the suffrage to those who would take an oath of fidelity to the Constitution and the laws. In March, 1865, Charles Sumner joined the Democrats in obstructive tactics and blocked the bill reëstablishing a state government in Louisiana, the passage of which Lincoln had sought. Sumner held that the bill did not give enough to the freedmen. For this the *Republican* attacked Sumner in vigorous terms.

The solution of the suffrage problem advocated by the *Republican* was an amendment to the Constitution providing "national suffrage" without limitation because of color, but, as in the case of the Massachusetts constitution, with provision for an educational test. The evils of the reconstruction era which this provision might have avoided can only be conjectured. However, it would not have assured the Republican majorities in the Southern states which, after Lincoln's death, the leaders in the unlovely drama at Washington desired.

Horace Greeley on the day after the announcement

of Lee's surrender had declared, in wise and generous words, for universal and complete amnesty to the South. John A. Andrew, the splendid war governor of Massachusetts, whose high quality Samuel Bowles had not at first appreciated, and who in 1861 had been preparing for war when the *Republican* still nursed the hope of peace, now also advocated general amnesty. In his valedictory address, January 1st, 1866, he said: "The capacity of leadership is a gift, not a desire. Those whose courage, talents and will entitle them to lead, will lead. We ought to demand and secure the coöperation of the strongest and ablest minds, and the natural leaders of opinion in the South. If we cannot gain their support of the just measures needful for the work of safe reorganization, reorganization will be delusive and full of dangers." The *Republican* heartily approved; it had itself preached the same wise gospel of magnanimity. In the summer of 1868, in the face of disorders and outrages in the South, it pointed out the dangers of reaction which would follow a Democratic victory at the pending election, but it sharply criticized the narrow spirit in which the Republican managers were organizing their negro allies in the South. It said:

> The Republican party cannot long maintain its supremacy at the South by negro votes alone. The instincts of submission and dependence in them and of domination in the whites, are too strong to permit such a reversal of the familiar relations and the natural order. The slave-holding element has learned to combine, conspire, and command, in the best school on earth, and they will certainly come to the top. Nor is it desirable that such a state of things should be continued.

To the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, repeatedly urged, the *Republican* was long opposed. It did not con-

sider the disruption of the national administration necessary. But as bad judgment was followed by worse on Johnson's part in his strife with Congress, the *Republican* came to share in the desire for his removal and to support the impeachment proceedings. It believed his conviction justified, but when that result was prevented by the action of the seven Republican senators who made impossible a two-thirds vote against him, the *Republican* defended them against the storm of current abuse in so far as to assert their right of honest, independent judgment and the integrity of their decision.

XV

THE EDITOR OF THE "REPUBLICAN" IS THROWN INTO JAIL

It was not alone through independent discussion of political issues that the *Republican* continued to be conspicuous in the decade after the Civil War. That period was marked by public and private corruption to a degree which gave the press a peculiar opportunity for service. Because of his share in that service the editor of the *Republican* was thrown into jail in New York. This was the result of a conspiracy between a corrupt judge and a celebrated speculator who succeeded only in giving to Samuel Bowles and the *Republican* the most valuable advertising they ever received.

In James Fisk, Jr., Jay Gould's notorious and profligate partner in the fraudulent operations of the Erie Railroad, the *Republican* took a special interest. He had been born in Vermont within the territory served by the paper. He began as a peddler, on a glorified scale with many traveling wagons, the career which made him a national figure in New York through the brazen effrontery of his corrupt manipulation of railroads and courts, and which ended in his murder because of a low intrigue.

On November 28th, 1868, under the title of the "New Hero of Wall Street" the *Republican* described Fisk, his current operations, and his previous history with biting and daring truthfulness. In this editorial it said, "Noth-

ing so audacious, nothing more gigantic in the way of real swindling has ever been perpetrated in this country, and yet it may be that Mr. Fisk and his associates have done nothing that they cannot legally justify, at least in the New York courts, several of which they seem wholly to own."

The *Republican* carried its attack to a climax in the statement that many of Fisk's friends predicted that he would end his days in state prison or a madhouse. Fisk responded by bringing a libel suit for $50,000. This was not pressed but gave Fisk an opportunity to attempt personal revenge. The following month, when Mr. Bowles and his wife, who was not well, were in New York, he was suddenly seized in the old Fifth Avenue Hotel on a writ issued by one of the most notorious of Fisk's corrupted judges in those days of the malodorous Tweed ring. Without being given an opportunity to see Mrs. Bowles, he was hurried off to the Ludlow Street jail and held there through the night. His friends were not allowed to see him. One of them, however, succeeded in locating the sheriff at a carousal in which Fisk, Judge McCunn, who had granted the writ, and similar worthies were celebrating the election of a Tammany mayor—and possibly the jailing of a pestiferous editor. The sheriff evaded the application for an order of release and shuffled out of the way.

In the morning a host of friends came to Mr. Bowles's support, his release on bail was secured, and nothing more was done in the case against him. But the episode made a national sensation. It was taken up by the press in general, which, to quote Merriam, pointed out "that the significance of the incident was the illustration it gave of how far the judicial and administrative machinery of the metropolis was at the service of a set of gamblers and

SAMUEL BOWLES
SECOND EDITOR OF THE *REPUBLICAN*
Founder of the *Daily Republican* in 1844

could be used by them even to gratify a freak of personal malice."

Less than four years later, in January, 1872, Fisk's extraordinary career was cut short before he had reached prison, madhouse, or fortieth year, by the pistol of Edward S. Stokes, his rival for the favors of a dissolute woman. The *Republican* reported the affair with great detail. In an editorial printed in the same issue with the account of the crime, it said:

> There is no need of dwelling on the career or the character of the murdered man, who, in three or four years, had made himself notorious, the world over, for reckless financing, the corruption of courts, the pillage of railroads. The public saw the worst side of him, and it was a very bad one; but no doubt there were traits in his character that may give the preacher of his funeral sermon an opportunity to speak the kind word that charity to the dead demands.

A ministerial eulogy was duly delivered at the funeral services held in Brattleboro. The *Republican* reported it at length.

A little over a year before the death of Fisk, Mr. Bowles had become engaged in a notable controversy as to the proper function of the press. The other parties to the controversy were David Dudley Field and his son Dudley Field, then famous leaders of the New York bar. They had served Fisk and Gould as attorneys in defense of their notorious operations. On the side of the *Republican* the fundamental issue was the right of a newspaper to criticize those who, in the professed rôle of private persons, were preying on, or as lawyers aiding others to prey on, the public. On the side of the Fields, the fundamental issue, although not so phrased by them, was the right of a lawyer, not merely to champion a

rogue and to get him out of the clutches of the law, but to aid him in nefarious schemes to despoil others of their property.

The *Republican* had continued to follow the Erie speculators and robbers, the Tweed ring, and New York's corrupt judges with undiminished severity. The controversy with the Fields was precipitated when the paper's New York correspondent made this reference to the elder Field: "His receipts as counsel for the Erie railroad company alone are understood to have exceeded $200,000 in a single year, and his regular income is enormous. His connection with Fisk and Gould secures him the favor of Barnard and other ring judges, though it has destroyed his reputation as a high-toned lawyer with the public."

Mr. Field wrote an indignant note of protest to Mr. Bowles. Mr. Bowles in his reply said: "As to the general judgment concerning your personal associations with notorious parties with generally conceded corrupt schemes, and the effect of them upon your professional stand, I should not have changed the character of the letter, although the wording of it is not exactly to my taste. Whether right or wrong, I think there is but one feeling among your old friends in western Massachusetts [from which the Fields came] on this subject and that is one of mingled sorrow and indignation at your professional associations with Fisk and Gould and their desperate schemes."

A duel of remarkable letters was opened between two men each of whom had rare skill and force in debate. In January, 1871, the Fields gathered the correspondence into a pamphlet for private distribution. On reading it, Mr. Bowles found that the letters were not complete, and he, too, issued a confidential pamphlet. In time the

injunction of secrecy was removed and the pamphlets became public property.

The broad grounds on which Mr. Bowles claimed for the press those rights of criticism which the *Republican* had striven honestly to exercise are concisely stated in a passage from one of his letters to Mr. Field:

> Of course, I cannot accept the limitations which you put upon journalism. The gathering and publication of facts is but one part of its vocation. To express opinions is a higher and larger share of its duties. The conduct of public men, before the public, is the legitimate subject of its discussion. The lawyer before the court, as the minister in his pulpit, the executive in his chair of state, and the legislator in his hall of assembly,—all these are alike public men, and their conduct in their public vocations is the proper theme of both journalistic report and discussion.

To this should be added the final summing up in an editorial printed January 30th, 1871, in the issue in which the letters were made public:

> Now, if the law is an exact science like geology or mathematics—if the elements that enter into it and administer it are divine—if one of Judge Barnard's injunctions is a decree of Providence, and an affidavit from Mrs. Lawler's "a song of the angels"—if the Court of the Infinite is run by the New York code, and Field and Shearman are entitled to an arrest of judgment against the Ten Commandments—if, in short, the devil is as good as the average, and the sum of both divine and human wisdom is the French philosophy that no matter what happens, so long as it does not happen to yourself—all this being so, then these gentlemen are clearly right, Field, Barnard, and Fisk are the victims of unworthy prejudices, and the modern newspaper is indeed a "public nuisance," as the junior Field protests. But if human imperfection is to be recognized in law and lawyers —if we admit the moral element into their work—if there

is such a thing as a private conscience, and a public conscience as well—they are all wrong, and the journalist's general view in this discussion is the correct one. In this instance the latter may have drawn the lines too broadly and too sharply here and there; but, given the concession of the moral sense in human action, yield to public opinion the right to bring in the Ten Commandments and independent thought to bear upon law and courts and lawyers, and the case is up for Messrs. Field and Fisk and their apologists.

The *Republican* did not content itself, in this period when public and private honor were at a low ebb, with pursuing and attacking only those sons of New England who had gone to New York to serve the devil. It did not ignore nearer targets. There was corruption at home in Massachusetts, although it did not remotely approach the scandals associated with the names of Fisk, Gould, and Tweed. Progress, linked before with folly, had now a worse mate.

Fifty years earlier, wild imaginations had conceived the idea of tunneling the granite of Hoosac mountain on the northern route of the canal, projected but never begun, that was in other places to climb hills like a mountain goat and to stretch from Boston to the Hudson River. In spite of advances in engineering, the task of tunneling the mountain for a steam railroad had now been dragging on for years. The money of the state was wasted and worse than wasted. Periodic appeals were made to the Legislature for increased grants. Appropriations for this or other railroad enterprises had been both a cause and an effect in the springing up, in the corridors of the state house at Boston, of a corrupt lobby.

Under the title "The Lobby at Home" the *Republican* fired a broadside on June 15th, 1869. The editorial attack was supported by a Boston letter giving the names and

descriptions of the leading lobbyists and specifying the measures they had influenced. The next Legislature appointed a commission of investigation, but apparently more in resentment at the *Republican* than in concern at the charges. The commission produced a mild report, but a specific case of bribery at the previous session which had been uncovered by the *Republican* was carried into the courts. The *Republican* also led a successful fight, with the aid in Boston only of the *Herald,* against the grant of millions of the state's money to the Hartford and Erie railroad, later reorganized as the New York and New England.

During this period the *Republican* was a leader in the reduction of newspaper prices. In 1866 it reduced its subscription rate to nine dollars from ten dollars, and in 1867 reduced it to eight dollars, at this time reducing the price per copy from four to three cents, including the "double sheets" of Wednesday and Saturday which had sold as high as five cents each. In announcing the reduction of 1867 the *Republican* pointed out that New York and Boston papers were still charging four cents. It explained that the plan had been to make the *Republican* an eight-page or "double sheet" paper six days in the week but that owing to the still high cost of materials this had proved impossible if the price was to be reduced. It was felt better to postpone the enlargement, and in its annual prospectus the paper emphasized the capacity for condensation of the news for which it had become famous.

XVI

THE GRANT-GREELEY CAMPAIGN

The year 1872 is notable in the history of American journalism. To the *Republican* and to Samuel Bowles it was critical. It brought the first campaign in which the paper opposed the presidential nominee of the party it had helped to establish. It brought sharper conflict with the prevailing sentiment of the paper's local constituency than any previous campaign, state or national, since the paper had been founded. It brought also important changes in the paper's internal organization.

Those episodes indicative of widespread corruption, and of the need of newspaper vigilance for its correction, which have been referred to because of the part the *Republican* took in them, are, in a broad way, indicative also of the difficulties of the time in which General Grant was called to the presidency, without previous training along the line of its complex duties. His earlier and incalculably great services to the nation on the battlefield, and the patient heroism of his later and closing days, give to the years of his presidency the aspect of a less fortunate interlude. The *Republican* had wholeheartedly supported him in 1868. But it early began to be troubled by the frequently unfit character of his appointments to office. In many cases these were due to the manipulations of scheming and unprincipled politicians with whom he found himself surrounded. In other cases they were due

to his own loyal but too little discriminating desire to reward his friends.

It was not until later that the Credit Mobilier Scandals were exposed. But as early as 1869 the *Republican* was familiar with and openly referred to the rumors which were eventually to be so far substantiated as to shock the country and to blast the careers of Vice-President Colfax, who had been Mr. Bowles's close personal friend, and others. Grant's own honesty was not to be doubted. But the need of a leader more wise in the problems of administration, who should raise the tone and efficiency of the civil service of the government seemed to the *Republican* increasingly apparent. The paper argued insistently for civil service reform and for a curb on the spoils system.

In January, 1872, the *Republican* declared that the Republican party and the country "ought to do better than to reëlect Grant," that "it was a patriotic duty to make the effort," and that if the effort failed of success it would at least "serve to make a better President of General Grant." That might do as an epitome, in part, of the manner in which the year's activities were to materialize. But it would have given little hint of the stress and storm through which newspaper independence was to be asserted.

The liberal Republican movement in which the *Republican* quickly became recognized as a leading factor, first took form in Missouri. There, under the inspiration of Carl Schurz, a call was issued for an independent or protesting Republican convention to be held in Cincinnati in May. Many newspapers, the *Republican* among them, have owed their establishment to the desires of a political party or faction. In this instance the relation was conspicuously reversed. No other political movement of

equal historical importance has been promoted, to the same degree, by newspaper activity. After being promoted and Horace Greeley nominated, it was sustained, so far as it could be under tragically discouraging circumstances, by a group of independent, courageous editors and the newspapers they represented.

The three "newspaper bellwethers," as Henry Watterson has described them in his vivid, spirited narrative, were "Samuel Bowles, Horace White, and Murat Halstead." White was editor of the *Chicago Tribune,* Halstead of the *Cincinnati Commercial.* There was also Watterson himself—a Democrat, however—making the fourth member of the once famous "Quadrilateral." And there was Whitelaw Reid who, after some opposition, was admitted to the inner circle as the representative of Greeley and the *Tribune.* "Sam Bowles," Watterson wrote, "was the first newspaper politician of his day —a man keen of insight and foresight, fertile of resources and not afraid." But it was Reid, aided by fate, who secured for Greeley the prize that helped to kill him, and eventually secured for himself the control of the *Tribune* which he was to make the strictest of party organs.

The *Republican* had sought the nomination at Cincinnati of Charles Francis Adams, who had performed historic service as United States minister to Great Britain during the Civil War. It often was said that the greatest admiration of Mr. Bowles's life was for Mr. Adams. The *Republican* urged him for governor and now for President, more earnestly than it had once urged Webster. To illustrate Mr. Bowles's feeling for Mr. Adams, an ancient story, told of innumerable men, was pressed into service. It was said that Mr. Bowles had gone to sleep in church, and, being suddenly awakened when the min-

ister sternly demanded "Who shall stand in that great day?" rose and answered, "I nominate Charles Francis Adams."

If Adams was not to be chosen—Watterson afterward believed there was a moment when he might have been—Mr. Bowles wished to see the nomination go to Charles Sumner, Lyman Trumbull, or Horace Greeley. He thought Greeley the least desirable of the four candidates, but preferred him to any outside the four.

With the completed story of the campaign of 1872 to look back on, the nomination of Greeley seems even more definitely a hopeless venture than it could have appeared to those who sacrificed themselves in the struggle to lift the standard of public service and to put the federal government on a wiser and more generous plane toward the Southern states. What sort of a president Greeley would have made, is an idle speculation. What sort of a candidate he was to make, his liberal supporters, especially Samuel Bowles and the *Republican,* were soon to find out.

The result at Cincinnati was a disappointment which Mr. Bowles swallowed with the best philosophy he could. He wired confidential instructions to the *Republican* office that the paper should support the ticket but not to "gush" over it. Yet once again that sanguine optimism which, despite defeat, led him to expect the realization of his dreams of right, inspired him with confidence as he sat down to write from Cincinnati the dispatch which the *Republican* printed next morning. He predicted that the nomination, which actually was overwhelmed in a great tidal wave of votes, would "sweep the country."

In the immediately preceding years the *Republican* had been critical of Greeley on account of undesirable associates with whom he had consorted in New York

politics. It had not minced matters in describing their character. Mr. Bowles was now convinced that, measuring all qualities and defects in two men, each of whom had rendered immense services to the nation in a sphere of activity wholly distinct from the administration of civil government, Greeley was to be preferred to Grant as President. But "nobody understood better than he," wrote Merriam, "that in nominating Greeley the Cincinnati convention had turned its back on that type of educated, scientific, reformatory statesmanship (so admirably represented to his mind by Charles Francis Adams) which he and his associates had been seeking."

At the outset of the campaign Mr. Bowles's loyalty to Greeley was put to the test by a demonstration of Greeley's peculiarities which was possibly more trying than some of the historic episodes in American politics which, overnight, have transformed editorial supporters into bitter and venomous enemies of presidential candidates. The morning after Greeley's nomination, the *Cincinnati Commercial* printed a despatch from New York describing Greeley's reception of the news. It contained this sentence: "Greeley stated that he would be glad to see the lies Sam Bowles has been circulating as to Senator Fenton contradicted." Mr. Bowles wrote a dignified note to the *Commercial* in which he listed the personal influences which brought about the nomination—"added, of course," he continued, "to Mr. Greeley's own high personal qualities and popularity, and the deep hold he has acquired upon the people of the South and the West. But with his usual perversity of temper and openness to flattery, Mr. Greeley will probably continue to give his faith and attribute his success to those who fawn upon him, and use him, and slander and abuse those braver and truer friends who dare to expose them

to him and the world, and tell him the truth that he needs to hear, even if he does not like it."

As the campaign went on it largely resolved itself into an appeal to a single generous sentiment—that of fair treatment of the South. When the Democrats endorsed Greeley's nomination, the position of the *Republican,* which had claimed to be the first conspicuous journal to raise the banner of the Republican party, seventeen years before, was made doubly difficult. Now it was bitterly accused of doing nothing but attack what it had helped create. It stoutly held to its position, yet, while vigorously defending Greeley against his severer critics and caricaturists and asserting his fundamental virtues, its support of him was frank and not lacking in criticism of his weaknesses or of admission, as on July 26th, 1872, that, if elected, his administration would be a "political hurly-burly and party interregnum." It was, as Merriam concisely says, "for a candidate so far from satisfactory, in a cause so unlike the ideal cause, that the *Republican's* editor was obliged to stem the tide of popular conviction, sentiment, and prejudice."

The *Republican* sought to maintain a respectful tone toward Grant and an attitude of tolerance toward those who hotly disagreed with it. But its policy ran too directly against that which dominated its constituency to prevent the development of intense local bitterness. Subscriptions were indignantly cut off and circulation suffered. Forty years before, when the paper criticized Andrew Jackson, the Democrats had retaliated by withdrawing from the *Republican,* and giving to a rival sheet, the advertising of uncalled for letters in the Springfield post office. This was a small measure of displeasure compared with those which now marked the feelings of the Republicans, when,

under circumstances which it must be admitted were somewhat different, a Republican President was criticized and his reëlection actively opposed. In 1872 newspapers were more largely distributed through the mails than now. The loyal Republican postmasters of western Massachusetts became so worked up that some of them patriotically undertook to refuse to deliver the *Republican* to the patrons of their offices.

Overwhelming as was the defeat of Greeley and great as were the sacrifices of strength and good will for the *Republican* and its editor, it is unlikely that the impartial historian, if there be such a one, who weighs all the consequences, will hold that so brave a fight was not worth making. Henry Watterson, looking back on it after nearly fifty years, summed up that which, in the larger aspect of national history, seemed to him the great contribution of Greeley's nomination, campaign, and swiftly following death:

> The crank convention had builded wiser than it knew. That the Democratic Party could ever have been brought to the support of Horace Greeley for President of the United States reads even now like a page out of a nonsense book. That his warmest support should have come from the South seems incredible and was a priceless fact. His martyrdom shortened the distance across the bloody chasm; his coffin very nearly filled it. The candidacy of Charles Francis Adams or of Lyman Trumbull meant a mathematical formula, with no solution of the problem and as certain defeat at the end of it. His candidacy threw a flood of light and warmth into the arena of deadly strife; it made a more equal and reasonable division of parties possible; it put the Southern half of the country in a position to plead its own case by showing the Northern half that it was not wholly recalcitrant or reactionary; and it made way for real issues of pith and moment relating to the time,

instead of figments of bellicose passion and scraps of ante-bellum controversy.

In a word Greeley did more by his death to complete the work of Lincoln than he could have done by a triumph at the polls and the term in the White House he so much desired. Though but sixty-one years of age, his race was run. Of him it may be truly written that he lived a life full of inspiration to his countrymen and died not in vain, "our later Franklin" fittingly inscribed upon his tomb.

Despite the vicissitudes of the Greeley campaign, the year 1872 recorded progress for the *Republican* on the material side. The project of increasing the paper to eight pages on all six days of the week, which had been considered in 1867 but postponed, was now carried through, with the acquisition once more of a new press and type. Mr. Bowles's way of meeting those who did not like his politics was to get out so good a paper, one so much in advance of the time for a provincial city, that they had to have it. The enlarged form inevitably gave an impetus to fuller news reporting in the local field. There was also the impetus of more active competition.

From the death of the *Argus,* a short-lived Democratic paper established in 1857, the *Republican* had had no daily competitor in Springfield until the establishment of the *Evening Union,* a Republican newspaper, in 1864. For the first eight years of this paper's existence such competition as it offered was not important, but the decisions which Mr. Bowles made in 1872 with regard both to national politics and to the organization of his own business were to invite a new chapter. Since 1855, when Mr. Bryan had been first put in charge of the counting room department of the paper and of the allied printing and binding establishment, the business had grown greatly. Samuel Bowles & Company, as the

firm styled itself, had brought out various books, including Mr. Bowles's own books of travel in the West, and had gone in particularly for the production of photograph albums, of which the firm was at one time the largest manufacturer in the country. In 1872 Mr. Bowles came to the conclusion, not an easy one in view of long-established ties with his partners, that the newspaper should be separated from the printing and binding business. The result was a dissolution of the partnership with Mr. Bryan. Samuel Bowles and his younger brother, Benjamin F. Bowles, who had now for some time been in charge of the counting room of the *Republican,* took the paper in the division and settlement.

Within a few weeks after the Cincinnati convention and the determined adoption by the *Republican* of a course which earned for it intense local hostility, it was announced that the *Union* had been bought by Mr. Bowles's former associates and was to be continued with new vigor by Clark W. Bryan & Company. The new owners induced important members of the *Republican's* staff to come with them. Thus Mr. Bowles, instead of having eased his burdens and succeeded in setting "his house in order," had brought on himself a heavier load and the need of recruiting and drilling a new staff at a time when local sentiment was estranged. His decision to dissolve the partnership had not been caused by political considerations, but it added heavily to the price which he had to pay for asserting the complete political independence of his newspaper.

XVII

THE *Republican* AS A "SCHOOL OF JOURNALSISM"

The distinction, generously accorded the *Republican* among newspapermen, of being "a school of journalism" dates from times long before schools of journalism, in the formal sense, were in existence.

To a peculiar degree this distinction was earned and the tradition established in the last six or eight years of the life of Samuel Bowles the second. The expansion of the paper in 1872, with improvements which were to follow, required a larger staff, although the general business conditions associated with the panic of 1873 were to make necessary a period of severe retrenchment in which all salaries were cut, beginning with that of Mr. Bowles himself. But the quality of the paper was not allowed to suffer. It was partly owing to the need of training a new staff, to meet the conditions described in a previous chapter, that the "school" functioned better than it ever had before, as Mr. Bowles threw himself into the task of selecting and developing new men and inspiring them with his ideas of journalism.

If one were to search the history of the American press for the first products of the "school" one would find them far back. Among the earliest workers on the *Republican* was Benjamin Henry Day, a practical printer who learned his trade under the first Samuel Bowles when the paper was still an infant in swaddling clothes. Nine years after the founding of the *Republican* the

pupil became founder in his turn. After an experience in the composing room of the *New York Evening Post,* he had set up a general print shop. He found less work than he needed and, to keep the shop busy, determined to start a newspaper. On September 3d, 1833, he printed the first issue of the *New York Sun.* It was so successful as a penny newspaper that he sold it four years later for $40,000 to Moses Y. Beach, from whose family it was bought in 1868 by Charles A. Dana and his associates.

It is possible that others went out from the *Republican* earlier than Benjamin Day to try their hands at the tempting lottery of making newspapers of their own. But so far as is known he was the "school's" first distinguished graduate. There were too many jobs during the succeeding years, when the whole staff could be counted on one hand, to keep "alumni records" with the solicitous care now practiced by colleges and universities which wish to have a knowledge of the achievements of their graduates, to honor them with occasional degrees, and to share in their estates when they die. But in the 60's and the 70's the *Republican's* alumni who gained honor in the profession began to be so numerous, as noted with pride from time to time in the paper, that the list which might easily be compiled would run into many pages.

The personality of Mr. Bowles was felt throughout the establishment. The painstaking, unsparing care which from his earliest days in the office he had devoted to the detection and correction of typographical errors was only typical of the forcefulness of his constant direction. He drove hard. He knew the standard of work he wanted and he insisted on holding men to it, sometimes with pungent and caustic comment. He demanded accu-

racy and conciseness above all things, yet with his own gift of sensitive appreciation he was ready to recognize and encourage it in others. But he did not want anyone to "slop over." The writer of an article which dealt in extravagant praise of the local appearance of a minor celebrity was called into his office. "That was a fine article! But if Jesus Christ should come to earth to-morrow morning, you haven't left us a single thing to say for him."

The high test of leadership is, of course, the ability to make leaders; the test of teaching, the ability to make teachers. Mr. Bowles was not himself the whole faculty of the "school," however greatly he dominated it. His personality and the work he was doing as the crusader of independent journalism attracted to his side men of proved quality and culture as well as raw and untrained beginners.

In 1868 General Francis A. Walker, later to be professor of economics at Yale, and then president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, came to the paper. So also did Frank B. Sanborn, the "last of the Concord sages," friend of Emerson and of John Brown. General Walker remained for only two years. Mr. Sanborn was a member of the resident editorial staff until 1872 and thereafter, until his death in 1917, served as a special correspondent, sending the paper two letters a week from Concord. One of these dealt with purely literary topics; the other, which was sometimes so militantly righteous that it had to be edited with care in order to avoid libel, dealt with the affairs of the wide world, especially national politics.

Herbert L. Bridgman, now publisher of the *Brooklyn Standard-Union,* has the distinction of being the oldest graduate now occupying an important executive position

on another paper. Some reminiscences which he has furnished have exceptional value and give intimate glimpses of conditions and companions in the two years he was with the *Republican.*

Mr. Bridgman joined the paper as "city editor" in November, 1865, although he had been in Springfield but once in his life. For several years, while a student at Amherst, he had "covered" town and college for the *Republican,* his "entire compensation, gratefully accepted, a copy of the *Daily Republican.*"

"A week maybe after my advent," writes Mr. Bridgman, "Mr. Bowles beckoned me over to him, where alert, nervous, slightly graying, and eagle-eyed, he stood by the open file on the high desk. 'So you're the new city man?' he said smilingly. I admitted it rather bashfully, not knowing what might be behind that evident unity of will and mastery. Then turning around to the open pages he followed along down, or up, the columns of the department. 'Did you write that? Is that yours? Where did that come from?' and so on, each question showing that he understood the job far better than I.

"The *Republican* building of those days was on the east side of Main Street and north side of Townsley's alley, extending from Main to Market Street, a four story brick. In the narrow publication office on the corner were Cashier George S. Lewis of blessed memory, Frank Stearns and Tilly Barber, clerks, and, in a little railed enclosure at the extreme rear, Benjamin F. Bowles, publisher, brother of the editor and father of the lad to be admiral and chief constructor of the American navy."

"We were a small but happy family in those good old days," says Mr. Bridgman. Among those on the staff he speaks of Harry Keene, brother of James R. Keene,

the Wall Street speculator, and Edward King. The two "were chums, utterly unlike in tastes, principles and ambitions, so far as either had any, and when Charles G. Whiting came along, not since 'The Three Musketeers' has there been a more romantic and incomparable trio.

"One of Keene's daily jobs was to meet 'the Owl' from Boston at the station at 12.40 and get the last editions of the afternoon papers and any possible news letters from the baggage master, and one of my hardest jobs on cold winter nights was to dig Keene out of the warm corner in which he had ensconced himself and send him on his arctic quest; for Mr. Bowles was not a man to overlook anything on account of the weather, and if the paper next morning had missed anything which Harry should have retrieved, both he and I would hear from it good and plenty.

"I'll never forget how, in the dusk of one autumn evening, I heard 'Joe' Hawley's cheery voice as he strode along through the outer offices to Mr. Bowles's private room. [This was General Joseph R. Hawley, editor of the *Hartford Courant.*] 'Sam, I want you to know this here man with me. He calls himself Mr. Clemens, but his real name is Mark Twain.' "

At the time of Bridgman's accession to the staff, Mr. Bowles was going over the proofs of his "Across the Continent," and Mr. Bridgman states that "One of the interesting consequences of that memorable journey was a series of rather irregular letters from San Francisco, on thin, dainty, highly finished French note paper, in purple ink, in a delicate, scrupulously finished hand and signed 'F. B. H.' [Bret Harte]."

Mr. Bridgman describes Springfield as "a quiet, orderly community where everybody knew everybody." It was not a good place for sensations, and one of the most fruit-

ful resorts for news "was the 'depot,' that great, old brick shed, open at both ends to the winds of heaven, and to trains crossing Main Street at grade. When news was dull, there were Holyoke, Westfield, Northampton and Pittsfield, to which weekly or occasional visits never failed to yield results." Annual passes were then furnished by the railroads to newspaper men who won recognition, although it was only a few years later that the *Republican* became one of the first newspapers to refuse such favors and to return them whenever offered in order that there might be no question of editorial independence. Mr. Bridgman remarks of his "annual" over the Boston and Albany, "To this day I feel the twinge of regret that it was but a fortnight old when I left the *Republican* and Springfield for New York, which continues to suffer by comparison."

The year 1868 brought to the *Republican* three notable additions, men who were to weave their sinew into its frame. These were Wilmot L. Warren, Charles G. Whiting and Edward F. Hayes. Mr. Warren's service was interrupted by a trip to Europe, but from 1872 until his death in 1888 he was the *Republican's* chief editorial writer, a careful, studious man of wide range of thought and ability. His work was largely in the field of economics, in which he showed himself a strong and original thinker. His writing was less marked by picturesquely distinctive qualities than that of Mr. Whiting, who, in spite of the limitations of anonymous journalism, became a familiar institution on the *Republican*. Mr. Whiting was a poet and a lover of nature with unique qualities. For years his "nature editorials" were a feature of the paper which many of its readers prized above any other. With pantheistic feeling and an individual gift of cumulative phrase he described the fury of wind and

storm, the coming and going of birds and flowers, the fulfillment of the harvest, and found in them the immanent divinity of the universe. To many a shut-in these poetic records of walks over the hills of Massachusetts came as a breath of air on the open road. They rooted the *Republican* closer to the land he loved, as at the same time he dared to speak to a daily audience in terms of the soul's highest aspirations.

After a brief period of newspaper work elsewhere, Mr. Whiting remained with the *Republican* continuously from 1872 until he retired from active service in 1910, and he continued until his death in 1922 to select for the *Republican* the daily quotations from the poets and philosophers which Samuel Bowles, third editor, caused to be printed under the felicitous title "From the Golden Books."

Mr. Hayes, the third notable freshman of the class entering in 1868, is, as this history is written, the oldest veteran of those who have given the paper what is virtually a lifelong service. He was the first shorthand reporter on the *Republican,* the first to take verbatim reports of trials and political speeches. Coming to the paper at the age of nineteen he was given his first training, as was the usual office practice in those days, as a copyholder and proof reader, before being tried as a reporter or an editor with a desk. With characteristic modesty, his first written contribution to the paper was sent anonymously through the mails. In spite of its anonymity it was accepted by the editor in charge because of its unusual descriptive quality. It was sent to the composing room, set in type and, in due course, the proof came to the desk at which Mr. Hayes, as the junior, was engaged in proof reading. A question arose as to the unknown author's handwriting. Mr. Hayes ventured an

opinion, but his superior thought otherwise. Without disclosing himself as the author, Mr. Hayes obediently bowed to the dictates of authority.

After service in various positions and absences which in one case covered several years, Mr. Hayes was entrusted in 1876 by Samuel Bowles, the second editor, with the task of editing the *Weekly Republican,* selecting and condensing the news, editorials and miscellaneous articles of the week from the daily paper. This duty Mr. Hayes discharged with rare discrimination for forty years, until ill-health forced his retirement in 1916. During one of his absences in the early 70's he wrote a number of letters to the *Republican* from the Middle West, in one of which is believed to have occurred the first newspaper suggestion of Rutherford B. Hayes for the Presidency.

In 1872, the year of so many changes and developments affecting the *Republican,* there was also added to the staff a youth fresh from Williams college whose service of forty-seven years with the paper became one of the notable episodes in American journalism. This was Solomon Bulkley Griffin, who retired in 1919 after having served for over forty of the intervening years as managing editor. Mr. Griffin has told in his volume of reminiscences, "People and Politics," of his first interview with Samuel Bowles, on whose desk he had unwittingly laid, in the editor's absence, the high felt hat which was then decreed by college fashion. In spite of his youth, Mr. Bowles was soon to put him in training for covering state and national politics. This was work which Mr. Bowles had done with historic results, and at which Mr. Griffin became celebrated among newspaper men as he followed the changing times of party warfare, the rise and fall of individual figures, and wired

home to the *Republican* the dramatic developments of national conventions in nine Presidential campaigns.

The graduates of the "school" who made names for themselves elsewhere and helped shape the journalism of the country have not been listed here because of their number, and because the story of the *Republican* consists more properly of the service of men who remained and gave the paper their lives. But two exceptions, in addition to those already noted, must be made. One of these was Charles R. Miller, who came to the *Republican* fresh from Dartmouth at the time that Mr. Griffin came from Williams, and who for more than forty years of honor was the editor of the *New York Times* until his death in 1922. The other was Charles H. Dow, who, after an apprenticeship on the *Republican,* likewise went to New York and there founded the *Wall Street Journal* in 1882.

No man ever strove harder to keep errors out of his newspaper than the second Bowles—unless it was his own son. "There goes Sam Bowles after killing himself trying to find a misplaced comma," was the substance of the comment of one who knew the man and his ways. When a mistake had been made, particularly if a mistake in judgment or opinion rather than of fact, it was not as easy for him to admit it, either as an individual or in his paper, as for men of weaker will and less intense desire for constant mastery. He had a feeling that the admission of error weakened authority. But his stand in this matter has been humorously exaggerated. The apocryphal story has been told in order to lend point to criticism of "newspaper inerrancy," that a man once complained to Mr. Bowles that the *Republican* had mistakenly reported his death. Mr. Bowles is said to have expressed his regret that the paper could not make a

correction, but to have offered to make reparation by putting his name in the birth notices.

Fortunately a sense of humor helped sometimes to relieve the feelings which were prompted when, in spite of all Mr. Bowles's pains, the mistakes inevitable in the rapid composition of a newspaper found their way into print. At one commencement season Amherst College was torn by dissensions among the student body at the rule of President Seelye. Mr. Bowles attended that commencement, both as a trustee of the college and to report for the *Republican*. He began an article referring to the troubled feelings of the students toward their president with the intended quotation "Oh ever thus from childhood's hour." Something happened in the composing room and to the unbounded joy of the students, who thought they had found a new ally in the *Republican* and its trustee-editor, the line came out next morning:

"*He* was ever thus, from childhood's hour."

President Seelye had reason to feel distressed, and his indignant letter to Mr. Bowles required a reply. But the secretary to whom the reply was dictated treasured the recollection that neither as editor of the *Republican* nor as an Amherst trustee could Mr. Bowles summon up sufficient dignity wholly to cloud the humor of the situation.

The typesetters in the *Republican's* composing room had been wont as they walked past the Bowles house in the early morning on their way home to bed and sleep, to sing, to the once-familiar tune of "Old Sam Simon," what might be called the office marching song:

"There's old Sam Bowles, and young Sam Bowles, and young Sam Bowles's son;
And young Sam Bowles is old Sam Bowles when old Sam Bowles is done."

In 1873 "young Sam Bowles's son" began the career with the paper which, five years later, was to mean assuming the burden of its direction, a career which to those who served under him was no less an inspiration than that of his father, although marked by different activities and pursued under different circumstances.

XVIII

TRAVELS AT HOME AND ABROAD

No study of Samuel Bowles, the second, and of his contribution to American journalism through the *Republican* would be complete without special note of his travels. He traveled more than any other of the great journalists of his time. Even to-day the journalist who travels farther and oftener is rare. Within a period of fifteen years he crossed the continent twice, once covering 2000 miles by stagecoach, made a third Western trip as far as Colorado, crossed the Atlantic four times, attended political conventions, accompanied Congressional tours of investigation, visited Henry Watterson in the South, and went wherever else the search for news or health called him.

These travels contributed immeasurably to giving the *Republican* an outlook on the world which was at once broader and more intimate than it could otherwise have attained. Wherever he went he was taking notes, writing letters to the paper, or filling his mind with facts and impressions about men, women, and public affairs to be drawn on later. A college education he had not had, but ill-health might be called his university, both because of the inner reflection which it forced on him, and the material world which it opened before his eyes.

The Know-Nothing convention of 1855, when with his own hand he wrote separate dispatches and letters for

three different papers, suggests the prodigality with which he spent his strength. On another occasion he tells in a personal letter of having worked forty-two hours at a stretch without sleep. Nor was his activity of the not unfamiliar journalistic type which needs the stimulus of special occasion to be fully aroused, and between times sinks back to a slow and lethargic pace. He lacked the capacity for repose. Travel and change, the chance to see new sights, and to talk with men and women unhampered by office demands, came nearest to yielding rest. He had a driving force within him at all times, even when from his bed he dictated directions both as to editorials and as to minute details of the typographical arrangement which he felt to be so large a part of the making of a good newspaper.

In the last year of his life, when there already had been warnings of what was soon to come, he wrote gallantly to Murat Halstead: "I had four columns in the *Republican* this morning. It looks as if the constitution had gone, but the by-laws are pretty tough." How often does an editor in full vigor fill four columns of his own paper? Yet Merriam writes from personal recollection that "neither the paper's readers nor his personal friends were ever wont to think of him as an invalid. To those who every morning scanned his work it seemed to issue from a fountain of exhaustless vitality." One may smile, with the superior wisdom that after-knowledge of the event confers even on the fool, at those innumerable prophecies of political success which the event was to prove wrong. Yet there is a hint of power in the ability of a man tortured by sleeplessness and pain to go on through fight after fight, for what he held to be civic righteousness, believing each time, in spite of "wounds and sore defeat," that his cause was sure to triumph.

In 1862, after warnings of complete invalidism or worse had become too grave to be ignored, Mr. Bowles went abroad for a few months, accompanied by his younger brother, Benjamin. The year previous, in the search for health, he had made a horseback journey into the White Mountains with E. B. Gillett, a lifelong friend, and the brilliant father of Frederick H. Gillett who was to become speaker of the House of Representatives in 1919. During the absence in Europe, Dr. Holland, loyal in friendship and service, once more took the editorial helm. The trip not only helped breaking nerves, but gave a glimpse of the division of English sentiment with regard to the war of North and South, and laid the basis, as did every such trip, of lasting friendships which were of direct value to the paper.

In May, 1865, "almost before the thunder of the guns had died away," Mr. Bowles joined a notable party on a trip to the Pacific coast. He was eager to see and to report to the readers of the *Republican* something of the vast territory whose settlement and development during the coming years was in so many ways, political, social, and economic, to dominate the development of the nation as a whole. The other travelers were Schuyler Colfax, speaker of the House of Representatives; Lieutenant-Governor Bross of Illinois and the *Chicago Tribune;* and Albert D. Richardson of the *New York Tribune* who had distinguished himself as war correspondent. In charge of them went George K. Otis, agent of Ben Holladay, the creator of the Overland Stage line, over which they were to travel and to break at least one record for speed. "Our party," Mr. Bowles wrote afterward to Speaker Colfax, "were almost the first that ever had traveled across the continent simply to see the country, to study its resources, to learn its people and their wants,

and to acquit ourselves more intelligently thereby, each in our duties to the public—you in the government and we as journalists." The Pacific railroad had hardly been begun, and 2000 miles of the journey had to be covered by stagecoach.

From this journey of exploration Mr. Bowles sent back to the *Republican* a series of notable letters. Some were descriptive of natural resources and of magnificent scenery—the Rocky Mountains and the Yosemite valley—then almost unknown. Others dealt with social customs and standards, particularly in California, that outpost of civilization so far removed from the rest of the country that during the war specie currency had been maintained while the East used paper depreciated to one-half or one-third its face value. These letters were made into a book, published by Samuel Bowles & Company. and entitled "Across the Continent."

As might be expected from one in whom the social instinct was so highly developed, to whom men and women were every day's most interesting study, Mr. Bowles was at his best in analyzing society. His first thought, then as always, was to picture truthfully to the readers of the *Republican* what he saw. In one of his letters he made this comment, which raised a furore when the paper reached the coast:

> There is want of femininity, spirituality, in the current tone of the place, lack of reverence for women, fewer women to reverence, than our Eastern towns are accustomed to. You hear more than is pleasant of private scandals, of the vanity and weakness of women, of the infidelity of wives. Paradoxical as it may appear, by contrast with Eastern society, the men seem of a higher grade than the women—better as men than the latter as women. Nor is this inconsistent with reason; the men, dealing with great practical

necessities and duties, are less harmed on the whole by the dominating materialism of life here, than the women, whose pressing responsibilities are lower and fewer, as a fine delicate blade is more roughened in cutting the way through brambles and brush than a tougher and broader edge.

The trip to California, as one chapter of national history ended and another began, proved a wise newspaper venture. Mr. Bowles came back the best informed editor in the East on the Far West, its problems, its needs, and its leading figures. He had seized an opportunity to qualify himself to give his editorial page a broadly national note in a new period. "Emerging from the fevered and passionate atmosphere of the war," writes Merriam, "he was lifted out of its resentments and rancors into an enlarged, inspiring view of the great peaceful destiny beckoning all the children of a common country. He gained knowledge through which he could interpret the East and the West to each other. He helped to summon the forces that built the Pacific Railroad. He was burning his candle at both ends—but he was helping to make history."

In the fall of 1866 Mr. Bowles was one of a party including Hugh McCullough, secretary of the treasury, and many members of Congress, which made a trip of investigation through the coal and iron regions of Pennsylvania. The purpose was to study problems of taxation. He concluded that Pennsylvania ought to aid New England to restore a sound currency (the gold dollar was then worth 141 cents to 100 cents for the paper dollar) and that New England in return should help Pennsylvania to secure a reduction of internal revenue taxes, and a temporary increase in the tariff on importations, in order to steady the markets while the currency was being

restored to a normal basis. His final letter to the *Republican* as to the results of the trip contained this characteristic touch:

> We discussed tariff and currency and turkey and champagne with the Pittsburg iron and steel lords in the evening. The harmonious, even enthusiastic agreement on the two latter themes argued well for the prosperity and perpetuity of the Republic, while it surely mitigated the shocks of difference as to the other topics.

In 1868 ill-health was the cause of a trip to Colorado. Speaker Colfax, who was elected vice-president that fall, was again a member of the party. It was at a time when the Indians were making trouble, and while in the mountains the party had the thrill of an Indian scare and of being forced to hurry back to Denver for safety. The letters which Mr. Bowles wrote to the *Republican* were collected into a book called "The Switzerland of America," and later were condensed, with the earlier letters of "Across the Continent," into a single volume, called "Our New West." Aside from these fruits of the trip, Mr. Bowles seems to have taken an interest in a gold mine and in a real estate speculation in Denver. The mine did not pan out; Denver inconsiderately grew in the other direction. He did not know so much, possibly like some other journalists, about mining or real estate as he did about his best investment, his own newspaper. In 1869 he was in Colorado again, taking Mrs. Bowles with him and venturing to go on with her to San Francisco in spite of the tempest his remarks about San Francisco society had stirred up four years before. This time, in the necessity of conserving his lessening strength, he did not attempt to write for the paper, but stored his impressions as a fund to draw on.

It became more and more necessary for Mr. Bowles to interrupt his editorial labors. The division of the *Republican* from the general publishing business which he effected in 1872 was conceived with the idea of so organizing as to enable him to curtail his activities, or to withdraw altogether. The actual result was to increase his burdens. Yet, in spite of feelings which were wounded in the division, and the new journalistic rivalries which were set up in Springfield; in spite also of the local bitterness caused by the *Republican's* course in the campaign of 1872, a citizens' movement was promoted the following year, in which the leading men of the city joined in a petition to Mr. Bowles to run for mayor on a non-partisan ticket in the interest of securing a careful, economical, and vigilant administration of the city's affairs. The movement was led by Mr. Bowles's former associates who had bought the *Union*. It was a handsome thing to do, and it touched Mr. Bowles deeply. Under the circumstances acceptance meant election. But his views as to the holding of political office by editors would have prevented him from consenting to the use of his name, even if health and other conditions had permitted.

XIX

"DAMN ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS; DAMN A CENT!"

Willis Phelps, an old and wealthy railroad contractor, was one of Springfield's prominent citizens. He was a church member and of good private character. But he was uneducated and lacked high standards as to the conduct of public affairs and the ways in which money might be made or used. He was typical of the men whom many another newspaper has had to fight in the local public interest and found the fighting hard because of their conventional respectability.

Through shrewd and unscrupulous political manipulation Phelps obtained large subsidies from the city in connection with the building of two small local railroads or branches, the Athol and the Longmeadow, both long since absorbed by larger systems. The *Republican* consistently opposed these grants. It contended that they were beyond the needs of the case and were corruptly obtained.

The issue came to a head in the city election of 1873. After Mr. Bowles declined to run for the mayoralty, the Phelps interests succeeded in preventing the nomination of a prominent man known to be opposed to their schemes and induced the Democrats to put up a man who was friendly or complacently neutral. Shortly before election day the *Republican* printed a sharp and

unsparing editorial entitled "Tweedism in Springfield," in which it said:

> Mr. Phelps proved himself in the Athol transaction a public robber and a public corrupter, and he is now repeating the exhibition in the most audacious and flagrant manner. . . . The point is, that by deceiving and corrupting the public, and getting possession of the city government, he is getting the city to pay him two or three times as much for his railroads as it need to. . . . Having spoiled the city of $200,000, he is now using that money, and the power that its expenditure gives him, to despoil her of another sum nearly as large. . . . Mr. Phelps is the Boss Tweed of Springfield.

Mr. Phelps at once brought a libel suit against the *Republican* for $200,000. An effort was made, through a writ of attachment, to injure the paper by interrupting its publication. Mr. Bowles promptly obtained the signatures of leading citizens to a bond guaranteeing full payment of damages, and the *Republican* welcomed the challenge to test the issue in court. Prominent lawyers were engaged on both sides, and Mr. Bowles devoted much of his depleted strength to the collection of evidence and the direction of the defense. The suit was tried in the late spring of 1875 before Judge Endicott of the Massachusetts Supreme Court.

Under a newly enacted statute the employment of a jury was waived by mutual consent and the decision left to the judge. The defense was "truth and privilege"—the truth of the charges the *Republican* had made and the privilege or right freely to discuss personal character when required in the public interest. Testimony was offered as to what was done by Mr. Phelps in person, or through his sons, at caucuses, elections, and

in the legislature. Mr. Phelps, his sons, and men whom they had employed, were put on the stand. In behalf of Mr. Phelps it was contended that nothing had been proved against him and his sons except legitimate activity in their own business interests. His counsel made a moving appeal that the gray-haired plaintiff had been maliciously compared with the most notorious criminal of the time.

Judge Endicott's decision was a substantial victory for the *Republican.* He pronounced the evidence conclusive as to grave improprieties on the part of the plaintiff, describing the influence exerted upon the legislature as highly unbecoming and dangerous. He declared that while direct bribery had not been proved in the city election in which a grant to one of the Phelps railroads had been carried, money had been shown to have been freely used and that the influence exerted was essentially corrupt.

But at one point the defendant had failed, according to Judge Endicott, to justify the paper's words. The judge referred to the passage in which it was said of Mr. Phelps, "Having spoiled the city of $200,000 he is now using that money and the power that its expenditure gave him, to despoil her of another sum nearly as large." This charge, the court declared, had not been made good, and evidence as to a "heated discussion" between Mr. Bowles and Mr. Phelps gave some evidence as to ill-feeling between the two and possible malice. For all of this Judge Endicott assessed damages against the *Republican* of one hundred dollars. Under the circumstances, this was a nominal amount.

When the news of the decision was reported to him, Mr. Bowles exploded in wrath that any damages whatever had been found against the *Republican:* "Damn

one hundred dollars; damn a cent!" was his exclamation. But the decision was far more unsatisfactory to Mr. Phelps. Both parties filed exceptions and declared that the case would be carried before the full bench of the court. But the appeal was allowed to hang suspended, and neither one hundred dollars nor a cent was ever paid.

While the suit was pending the city had voted at a special election to make a subscription of $150,000 to the stock of the Longmeadow Road, although on the day of the election the *Republican* had given warning, in terms as strong and specific as the original editorial on "Tweedism," of the way in which money was being used to influence the voters. In the end the city suffered. In the case of the Athol road the city did not receive any of the promised dividends. The entire stock was wiped out in behalf of the bondholders, of whom Mr. Phelps himself was the chief. The road passed into the hands of the Boston and Albany system, in spite of a promise that it would be a competitor. The city's subscription to the Longmeadow Road was less disastrous, but also involved loss.

The most important consequence of the whole affair was the warning which the *Republican's* course served on any who might wish to emulate Mr. Phelps. The paper had set a standard of diligence in unearthing evidence and of aggressive fearlessness in attack. It perhaps is not assuming too much to believe that the record of freedom from corruption which, since then, has been maintained in the conduct of the municipal affairs of Springfield, has in some measure been due to the position which the *Republican* then took and has striven to uphold.

One day in the summer of 1874, the year before the Phelps suit came to trial, Mr. Bowles met at the railroad

station Chester W. Chapin, the most important railroad magnate in western New England, although, like Willis Phelps, he had once driven an ox-cart. Mr. Chapin was due to sail next day from Boston on a pleasure trip of a few weeks in Europe. "Come with me as my guest," urged Mr. Chapin. The two men were old friends, and Mr. Chapin was amply able to afford the proffered courtesy. Mr. Bowles needed a rest and change, and, after brief reflection, he accepted. The two went off on a trip which must have given to the sober millionaire a new and fascinating insight into public affairs, as Mr. Bowles, aided by his intimacy with journalists, took him behind the scenes in London and in Paris. But the sequel showed that the editor of an independent newspaper could not wisely accept such a gift from the head of a great public service corporation, even though that head might be a personal friend of long standing.

In the election the following autumn the *Republican* supported Mr. Chapin for Congress in preference to Mr. Bowles's own brother-in-law, Henry Alexander, and the charge was made that the trip to Europe, the conditions of which had become public, was an obligation now being repaid. The local cartoonists made Mr. Bowles their target. A situation difficult enough anyway had been made more exasperating by his acceptance of Mr. Chapin's friendly courtesy. He felt that he and his brother-in-law, in spite of the latter's standing in the community, held different views as to the conduct and purpose of politics. The ties between the two families were peculiarly close, but he believed that Mr. Alexander's political activity represented something which the *Republican* must, in consistency, oppose. He had hoped that his brother-in-law would not run for Congress, and had given warning that if he did the

Republican would not support him. When Mr. Alexander accepted the nomination Mr. Bowles was saddened at the thought of what was to follow, but he declared, "the *Republican* has no brother-in-law." The paper supported Mr. Chapin, who won the election.

XX

THE HERITAGE

In the campaign of 1876 the *Republican* supported Rutherford B. Hayes, believing that, responsive to the protest of 1872, he represented a new and better leadership in the *Republican* party. The elder Bowles respected the abilities and accomplishments of Samuel J. Tilden, yet felt a distrust of him because of his political associates in New York. Mr. Griffin has recalled in his reminiscent "People and Politics" that both he and the younger Bowles differed from their chief and gave Tilden their votes—a fact evidently neither unknown nor offensive to a man who had practiced too much independence himself to insist that all about the establishment should think, or pretend to think, exactly as he did.

The *Republican* held to the view, after the election, that Tilden had been chosen. But in the crisis that developed it supported the establishment of the commission and accepted its decision. The record which Hayes made in office—his generous treatment of the South and his inauguration of civil service reform—brought to the paper a deep satisfaction and won its warm approval. But before that record of a single term of faithful, honorable service in the White House had been completed, the hand that had made the *Republican* an influence in national affairs had fallen and a new hand, strong with reverent determination to uphold the tradition, had taken the helm.

The time had come when, despite his indomitable will, the overdrafts which, from early manhood, the second Bowles had made upon his strength in the production of his newspaper, must needs be paid. He had been deeply saddened, too, by the death in 1876 of his only brother, Benjamin F. Bowles, who for twenty years had faithfully and devotedly followed his leadership in the business of the *Republican.*

For the detailed yet vivid picture of the last days of the great journalist one must turn to Merriam's most feeling pages. There in the sick room, even as physical strength failed, stood revealed the force which had sustained his faith that the true essence of journalism is the daily recognition of a moral duty. The radical abolitionists had attacked him years before, because, while he detested slavery, steadfastly opposed its extension, and led in organizing the political forces that were necessary to make that opposition effective, he did not endorse their extreme views. His failure then to pay full homage to their idealism was the point at which he was most open to attack, although it would be unnecessary to argue now that, save for the statesmanship which he and others applied to the problem, the abolitionists might have succeeded only in destroying the Union without freeing the slaves. Yet as idealists they must have bowed before the ingrained sense of duty to which his last days gave emphasis.

Senator Dawes of Massachusetts, whose long and useful career in both Houses of Congress the *Republican* had promoted and supported, although not without sharply expressed disagreement, was one of the friends to whom Mr. Bowles was bound by the ties of most intimate affection. Following the death of Mr. Bowles, which came on January 16th, 1878, after a succession of strokes, Senator Dawes wrote of the meeting which both men

had felt to be their last. "At the close of a long and tender interview by his bedside, with one hand in his and the other on the latch of the door, I received there his farewell words, 'Drop on your knees, Dawes, and thank God you have done a little good in this world, and ask his forgiveness that you have done no more.'" It was as if he were speaking to himself in the person of his friend.

The comments of the press on the death of Mr. Bowles, on the services which the *Republican* had performed, and the example which under his leadership it had set to other newspapers, would alone fill this book. The opinion Horace Greeley had expressed in the *Tribune* twenty-two years before, that the *Republican* was "the best and ablest country journal ever published on this continent," was echoed through the country. Henry Watterson in the *Louisville Courier Journal* printed this estimate of the man and his paper:

To say of a man that he edited the model provincial newspaper, in the most newspaper reading country on the globe; that he gave this provincial newspaper national influence and importance, and that he was a statesman rather than a politician, is to say all that could be claimed for a journalist. Yet it no more than rightly belongs to Samuel Bowles.

He possessed many of the characteristics of Horace Greeley, without Mr. Greeley's oddities. He had much of Raymond's catholicity. There was no class of editorial work which he did not do well. There was one department for which he was rarely fitted, and it was this which joined to his painstaking industry and zeal, made him and the *Republican* what they were. He was a born leader of opinions.

In the *Philadelphia Times*, Alexander K. McClure declared of Mr. Bowles:

He was the founder of our first independent newspaper in the truest, broadest sense of the term, and for a full quarter of a century his columns have been daily examples of the highest type of manhood in editorial effort, and unbroken illustrations of the power of unshackled thought. His achievement in journalism is without a parallel in this or any other country. He would have been potential in one of the great cities of the country with the vast patronage they could furnish his well-directed enterprise, but he chose a little village of New England for his field, and there he founded his newspaper a generation ago.

Such expressions might be continued indefinitely to indicate the position which the *Republican* held in 1878 and which Mr. Bowles himself had declared, some months before his death, in appreciation of those to whose shoulders the burden was passing, never to have been stronger or better.

The chief contributions made by Samuel Bowles to American journalism were two. He had established a tradition which inspired others to go on where he left off. He had set an example of far-reaching influence in its aid to struggling editors even in distant states. His hopeful vision of the coming general independence of the press, declared in 1855 when the *Republican* cast off the bonds of Whig allegiance, was certainly not to be justified in his lifetime. Nor was the promise of 1872, when other papers joined the *Republican* in the independent movement associated with the liberal Republican convention at Cincinnati, to be fulfilled. Yet, while the development has been less marked than that for which, with pride in his profession, he so earnestly hoped, it has at least been in the direction which he predicted. The hidebound party organ, playing on but two keys—one of adulation and the other of hate for the opposition—is less

a factor in the journalism of the country than in the day when he fought his fight for a full measure of independence.

With more prophetic insight than he sometimes had when in the midst of battles against prejudice, Mr. Bowles forecast in 1876 that the future of American journalism was to be marked "by fewer newspapers." This prediction was made in an editorial analyzing the newspaper situation in New York as it stood in October of that year. "The *New York Herald* follows the recent example of the *World,* and the very much earlier one of the *Republican,*" he wrote, "which did this same thing soon after the close of the war, by reducing its price from four to three cents." He went on, "It is impossible to publish a first-class newspaper in New York today for less than four cents, unless it has an immense circulation like the *Sun,* or a great advertising patronage like the *Herald.*" He volunteered the suggestion that the *Tribune* and the *Times* should combine and charge five cents. But while Mr. Bowles acutely sensed the tendency toward consolidation, he could not foresee how far it would go. He could not dream that it would leave a number of the larger cities with but a single morning paper, in which freedom from strict party affiliation has sometimes faded into a colorless, although commercially prudent, editorial neutrality wholly alien to his vision of progress. "Fewer newspapers and better ones," he wrote, "sums up the future of journalism in this country"—a picture subject to some qualification in the event.

At the same time that Samuel Bowles demonstrated what might be done with a newspaper in a provincial city, and set before the country his lessons of editorial independence and fearlessness, he was a pioneer in setting a lesson of newspaper dignity and decorum. When in

1872 certain of his former associates obtained control of the *Springfield Union,* the *Republican* made note of the new management and spoke of it in cordial terms. After that the *Republican* followed its now invariable custom, which he established, of making no editorial reference to local newspaper rivals. It refused in this way to be drawn into those personal newspaper controversies by which so many communities are edified, exasperated, bored, or disgusted.

The day when rival editors challenged each other to duels has long since passed in this country. The practice seems, even in France, to be losing the favor it had in the times of such redoubtable editorial swordsmen as Deroulede and de Cassagnac. Yet in a recent issue of *Scribner's Magazine* (April, 1924) Charles M. Harger, in writing of "The changing country press," observes "that the public, despite its expressed desire for peace, dearly loves newspaper quarrels." Mr. Harger may be right. But if he is, Samuel Bowles and those who have followed him in control of the *Republican* have been wrong, both in theory and in practice. For it has been their observation that the exchange of local newspaper personalities soon grows tiresome to the public, belittles the dignity of the press and obscures, rather than promotes, that frank and fearless but unprejudiced discussion of public issues which Samuel Bowles held to be a newspaper's highest duty.

XXI

SAMUEL BOWLES, THE THIRD, FOUNDS THE *Sunday Republican*

On the morning of Sunday, September 15th, 1878, a well-known Springfield citizen appeared on his front porch, clad in dressing gown and carpet slippers. In his hand were the family tongs. With these he carefully picked up a tainted object which lay before him. Marching around instead of through the house, to avoid the possibility of contagion to holy precincts, he deposited the object in the garbage can by the kitchen door. With crisis met and duty done, he resumed the day's meditations.

The cause of offense thus bravely plucked from the eye of the world was a copy of the first issue of the *Sunday Republican,* laid before the good man's door in the hope of obtaining his patronage. But fire tongs and garbage can afforded an insufficient protection. Samuel Bowles, "Young Sam Bowles's son," third editor of the *Republican,* who had that day begun the Sunday paper, delighted to recall that the old gentleman at length yielded to temptation. Before he was summoned to final judgment on his sins he became a subscriber.

The Sunday newspaper is now such a familiar item of American civilization that to look on it from the viewpoint of fifty years ago is difficult. When the *Sunday Republican* was added to the *Daily* and *Weekly* in 1878, with the familiar legend "Founded by Samuel Bowles,"

Sunday papers had been published in Boston and New York for many years. New York's first Sunday paper was started in 1825. But they were small sheets compared with the voluminous and many-featured Sunday paper of to-day. Outside of the metropolitan cities comparatively few attempts at Sunday publication had been made in the entire country. There was no Sunday paper in Massachusetts except in Boston.

Ideas of Sabbath observance were probably more strict in New England than elsewhere, and there the Sunday newspaper was looked upon most doubtfully. Men now living can remember occasions during the critical days of the Civil War when the *Republican* issued extras on the receipt of great news and distributed them on Sunday through the Massachusetts hill towns. They were received there with mixed emotions. Good church members were torn between troubled thoughts at the desecration of the day and desire to get the news from the front. The desire to get the news seems to have been the stronger. But a regular Sunday paper, born of no great event, was a different matter.

The first issue of the new Sunday paper, which, after all, contained some eminently proper Sunday reading and nothing worse than reports of several baseball games, was of eight pages, its size identical with the *Daily Republican* of that period. To-day metropolitan Sunday papers regularly approach, if they do not exceed, 150 pages, and the *Sunday Republican* has seventy or more pages, including its eight-page rotogravure picture section. It seems not so surprising that the *Sunday Republican* should have had such slender proportions in 1878, as that its size should have remained little changed for fifteen years or more. Additional pages were added so slowly that, at the turn of the century, when the *Sunday*

Republican was twenty-two years old, its regular size was but sixteen pages.

The limitations of size were alone sufficient in 1878 to prevent any great effort to make Sunday journalism as different from daily journalism as it is now. It was, moreover, the first ambition of the third Bowles to perpetuate the quality of the paper that had been handed down to him and to reproduce that quality in the Sunday issue which he had added. Although the era of elaborate Sunday features was yet to come, the second Bowles, in the catholicity of his interest in human affairs, and with his keen sense of what would interest his public, had developed week day columns or departments dealing with religion, science and invention, agriculture, and with his own pen had even written with humorous zest of women's fashions. The effort therefore was to make the Sunday paper as rich as was possible within eight pages, and without in any way robbing the *Daily*. The weekly review of local events, particularly in the other cities and larger towns of the *Republican's* home territory, was an early and natural development.

In one respect, however, the *Sunday Republican* marked a notable change in the newspaper practice of the establishment. From the founding of the *Daily Republican* in 1844 it had conformed, except on Saturdays and later also on Wednesdays when the "double sheet" or eight-page paper was issued, to the once general custom, still found among English newspapers, of devoting the front page to small advertisements. The spread of news was reserved for the right of the two middle pages, the editorials for the left. When in 1872 eight pages became the established size of the *Daily Republican* throughout the week this use of the front page, hitherto followed in the four-page paper on four days, was made

uniform on all six. The arrangement had the virtue of some physical protection for the two most important pages. The fact that the editorials faced the news with which they chiefly dealt lent something to the attention with which they were read.

This make-up of the *Daily Republican* was adhered to by the third Samuel Bowles long after it had gone out of fashion and had left the *Republican* almost the only example of its use in this country. He once declared to a lieutenant that he would never depart from it as long as he lived, "whatever others might do after him." There entered into his reluctance to alter established customs a deep sense of the sacredness of the *Republican* as an institution and of his responsibility as its steward. It also was his desire to keep the paper "different from others." But he had too much courage not to be willing to change his mind either on questions of newspaper make-up or problems of public affairs and international relations. It was not, however, until 1909 that the *Daily Republican* first appeared with the front page given over entirely to news. But that was the way the *Sunday Republican* appeared from the day of its birth.

The founding of the *Sunday Republican* was a progressive step in advance of the enterprise of publishers in cities of the size of Springfield, which then had approximately 32,000 inhabitants. But it was not so doubtful and hazardous an adventure as the founding of the *Weekly* and of the *Daily* had been. Six thousand copies were printed of the first issue. In spite of the old gentleman and his fire tongs the reception of the paper demonstrated that it met a public want. There was more difficulty in educating advertisers to the use of its columns than in attracting readers. Yet with newsprint then costing 6½ cents a pound compared with 3¾ cents in 1924,

the white paper required for an eight-page edition represented but a small fraction of the cost of the paper required for a seventy-page issue to-day. The retail price of the *Republican* for many years was 5 cents, of which the publisher received 3½ cents. But it was more nearly possible to meet the costs of publication out of the receipts of circulation than to-day, when the price is 8 cents, of which the publisher receives 6½, and when Sunday advertising has been more greatly developed.

The addition of the Sunday paper was the first notable step taken by the third Samuel Bowles, aside from carrying out the details, soon after his father's death, of organizing a corporation under the title of "The Republican Company" to hold the newspaper property. But while important to the *Republican,* these progressive business moves were only related to that which was to be his distinctive contribution to the general development of American journalism. That contribution would still have been made if he had never thought of a Sunday paper nor had the foresight to put up a building in 1888 on what was to become the most valuable corner in the city.

No head of a newspaper ever exercised closer control over every department than did the third Bowles. Born in 1851, he was bred to the business. Lacking a robust physique, he did not take a regular college course, but for two years pursued special courses, particularly in history, at Yale. He also had a year of travel and study in Europe, largely in Germany. He spent some time in the editorial or news department when he first joined the paper as a regular in 1873. But the growth of the business, his father's failing health and his own aptitude, combined in decreeing, even before his father's death, that the place in which he must apply his strength was in business management and general direction.

In the thirty-seven years through which the third Bowles was in command, he did, relatively speaking, little actual writing. His chief written contributions were the letters in which he shared with the readers of the *Republican* the pleasures of the rare and too-widely separated travels which he permitted himself in Europe or in the West. He once said, in modest self-appraisal, that he could not write but that he could "tell others how and what they ought to write." That also once had been his father's view about himself. The third Bowles might likewise have come to wield a brilliantly distinctive pen had not the demands for activity of another sort been imperative. Passing through Washington he once contributed a sketch of the daily scene in the White House offices which, in its very human picturesqueness, should have been the envy of every Washington correspondent who sharpened his pencil year in and year out to draw just such scenes as that. On the rare occasions when he spoke in public, as in the address delivered before the Columbia School of Journalism in 1913, he did so with dignity and force. But it was in looking after minute details of business management with infinite care, and in "telling others how and what they ought to write" that his life was spent.

His day began with a painstaking, methodical reading of the paper in the inviolate retirement of his library at home. A clipping was made of each mistake, and when he had walked to the office the clippings went, like the arrows of inexorable fate, to those responsible. Usually there was no comment save an eloquent "sic!" It used to be a by-word in the office that it was not possible for a mistake to escape him. But he had generous thought for work well done. A copy of the editorial page was at his desk each morning with each article or paragraph bear-

ing the initials of the member of the staff who had written it. To receive a clipping from that page with one's initials on it and the added words "Good!" or "Fine!" in Mr. Bowles's large, familiar script, carried a message more welcome than might have been contained in many words. Thus, while his office was in the business department, he was in constant touch with the news and editorial departments, indicating news that might be obtained and editorials that were to be written.

It often was said of Mr. Bowles in the local room that he was the paper's "best reporter" in the number of "stories" for which he gave the tips. This was in spite of the fact that, with the routine labor to which he subjected himself, he had all too little opportunity for meeting men outside. Despite the austere dignity of his bearing, which cloaked many qualities that the unfamiliar observer could not guess, he had a keen, avid sense of what was news. This he applied not less to personal comings and goings in the local community—he was always eager to know what people were doing—than to larger affairs. Sometimes he phrased the items that he sent up for the "social column" with a touch of mischievous fun, that few would have suspected in him. Referring by name to a brilliant young lawyer much in demand for public speaking, one such item solemnly added the news that "Our local Demosthenes has taken up the sport of equestrianism."

XXII

THE MUGWUMP CAMPAIGN OF 1884 TO THE SPANISH WAR

The first grave test of the *Republican's* courage and independence under its new chief came in the presidential campaign of 1884. The experiences through which it went in that year were scarcely less severe than those of 1872. While Greeley's overwhelming defeat had made the *Republican's* support of him an offense which might be forgiven because of its futility, its course in 1884 was to have the less pardonable quality of being part of a movement which was successful in ending twenty-four years of Republican rule.

In 1880 the paper supported General Garfield, a distinguished son of Williams College, and so had been in harmony with the greatly predominant sentiment of its constituency. But in 1884 it could not accept James G. Blaine. It therefore stood its ground in that year of extraordinary political bitterness at a great cost in local good-will and much in circulation. The paper's distrust of Blaine, however, was not a new thing. The second Bowles had looked with sharp eye at those flaws in the moral armor of the plumed knight which the Mulligan letters had made historic.

The *Republican's* editorials of 1884 do not spare Blaine at any point of legitimate attack. There is no weak effort to soothe the anger of the opposition. They score his financial weakness, the untrustworthiness of his confused efforts to clear himself, and his record in foreign

relations with a merciless severity which time has scarcely qualified, unless in the last of the three counts. As the day of the election dawned the *Republican* uncompromisingly summed up the situation:

> The moment the Republican party nominated James G. Blaine, they made dishonesty in public life the supreme issue of the hour. When Grover Cleveland was named in opposition, the issue became broad and complete between Blaine, as the corrupt, showy and brilliant demagogue, the reckless and double-minded Secretary of State and the manager of patronage for spoil—and Cleveland, the plain, steady, and sturdy representative of economy, simplicity, and honesty in government as administered by him in Buffalo and from Albany.

The verdict of the historian has not relieved Blaine from the charge of having "prostituted his position as Speaker of the House for the purpose of making money," as James Ford Rhodes states his conclusion after long study of the evidence. And the revolt of the "Mugwumps" of '84, in which the *Republican* and the *New York Evening Post* were leaders, stands vindicated by what Rhodes calls the "priceless possession" which "the American people" have in "Cleveland's two terms in the presidential office."

It is impossible to read the daily record of the contest in the *Republican* without sensing the moral fervor of a movement of protest and revolt. Yet the paper was frank to express regret at matters in Cleveland's private career which were made to figure so largely in the campaign of detraction. Although the *Republican* was severe in its treatment of Blaine's record in public life it scrupulously refrained, until Blaine himself brought the matter before the public in a libel suit in Indiana, from any allusion to the unwarranted and disproved Democratic

charges in regard to his private life. These were born of the bitter heat of the campaign and the circumstances of the first wholly honorable, although clandestine, marriage ceremony which he and Mrs. Blaine had later followed with a second ceremony in order to remove any question of technical legality that might exist as to the first. While fully accepting his statements of fact, the *Republican* spoke slightingly of their tone and described as "gushing" a letter which to-day seems lacking neither in sincerity nor dignity. But if this was the worst offense committed in so bitter a fight in which the champions of reform were so abusively assailed, the *Republican* had some reason for pride in a record of fair play, restraint, and moderation under great provocation to meet abuse with abuse.

The campaign of 1884, despite its extraordinary bitterness, was not without its newspaper humors. Two days before election the *Republican* pointed out editorially that the poetry of the campaign was running low. "Yet there are still some minor parts for the muses to play," it went on, "and the muse of the acrostic has played the mischief with Chairman Warren of the New York State Republican committee, whose newspaper, the *Buffalo Commercial,* lately contained an eloquent address to James G. Blaine." From this address in verse the *Republican* printed only these two lines:

> Fervent in spirit, just, upright,
> Ordained our leader, the true Knight.

The acrostic proved to be a wicked Democratic plot. After the *Commercial* had printed the effusion, in which there was more concealed humor than good meter, attention was called to the fact that the first letters of the separate lines produced the following:

"VOTE FOR CLEVELAND, THESE LINES ARE BOSH."

On the morning of the day on which Blaine failed to catch—or at least promptly to repudiate—the fatal words, "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion," which Rev. Mr. Burchard addressed to him, one finds in the *Republican* a statement that a reception to the Republican candidate by a body of ministers was to be part of that day's busy program. But the New York dispatches in the paper next morning made no allusion to Burchard's words and their political significance, although devoting much space to the famous "millionaire's dinner" at Delmonico's which Blaine had attended in the evening and which Jay Gould had graced with his presence. The second morning, Burchard's speech of only a dozen lines of political dynamite was given in full. Editorial references and the disclaimers of Blaine and of Burchard himself—whom Blaine privately but pungently described as "an Ass" sent by the Lord "in the shape of a preacher"—give their swiftly following indication of the mischief Burchard had done.

On the day before election Blaine made a brief noontime stop in Springfield on his way to Boston—where he spoke that night at a dinner presided over by Henry Cabot Lodge—and to his home in Maine. But his voice was too far gone for him to speak more than a few words of greeting to the Republicans who had assembled to greet him in Springfield; he made no effort to meet the challenge of the attacks which throughout the campaign the *Republican* had made on his public record.

Blaine's weaknesses were not the only factors determining the *Republican's* course, nor the only ones which ranged it in sharp antagonism to the prevailing sentiment

in a prosperous manufacturing section. The contrast between the *Republican's* strict party regularity, in the days of the Whigs, and its later independence is not greater than between its early devotion to a protective tariff and its later criticism of the extreme manifestations of the protective system. Its opposition to high duties was largely based on the dubious alliances which the protective system bred between business and politics. This opposition was coupled with recognition that in a world of practical affairs "theories do not operate in a vacuum" and that established conditions must not be too greatly or suddenly dislocated. It had been preceded by the warning, as early as 1872, that, by moderation in her tariff demands, New England should minimize the political reactions otherwise to be feared from sectional jealousies.

The tariff issue had been projected into politics when the *Republican* was founded. Earlier in 1824, before the first issue appeared, the duties had been materially raised. From that time the New England states, previously lukewarm or opposed to the protective system, were to furnish much of its strongest support. In 1828 the *Republican* supported "the tariff of abominations," but not "the abominations," and, in harmony with the prevailing New England sentiment, was a tariff supporter for many years afterward. On June 18, 1828, the Republican printed in full—a piece of early enterprise—the tariff speech which Webster had delivered on May 9 and which is in itself a chapter of tariff history. In that speech he opposed the tax on molasses—one of the "abominations" which the representatives of other sections had imposed on New England in a frankly punitive spirit. He recalled that fourteen years earlier, when New England was resisting the imposition of the protective system, he had expressed "serious doubt whether this government was

fitted by its construction to administer aid and protection to particular pursuits."

The change in the *Republican's* attitude which came gradually after the Civil War, and which was to be most strikingly in evidence in the campaign of '84 and those that followed, was influenced by certain noted American economists who contributed during that period to the clarification of thought on economic and political issues. These men were David Ames Wells, Professor Arthur Latham Perry of Williams College, and General Francis A. Walker. Probably Professor William G. Sumner of Yale should be added to the list. The first three were at one time or another either regular members of the *Republican's* staff or contributors to it. Sumner began his remarkable career as a teacher at Yale in the second of the two years that the third Bowles spent there as a special student.

In 1884 the *Republican* held that the derisive treatment which a Republican Congress had given, the year previous, to the recommendation of a general tariff reduction of 20 per cent—submitted by a tariff commission appointed under a Republican administration—was an added reason for entrusting the task to the Democrats under Cleveland. And it looked to Cleveland for leadership in the cause of civil service reform and in placing additional restraints upon the operation of the spoils system.

In 1888 and in 1892 the *Republican* again supported Cleveland. It did not find the record of his first term on the civil service question one of ideal perfection, and expressed some sharp criticism. However, it recognized the advances he had courageously made and considered that on this issue and the tariff he had earned a new commission from the people. Massachusetts remained faithful in the Republican fold, but the campaign of 1888 as reflected in the *Republican* indicates that in some degree

the bitterness of 1884 had spent itself. In 1892 when, as in 1884, the Mugwumps added the sin of being on the winning side, the distaste with which many good Massachusetts Republicans read the news the morning after election day must have been relieved by pardonable glee at a typographical error which crept into the *Republican's* leading editorial. This editorial called attention to the fact that the Democrats had come into power in 1884 not so much on a definite policy of reform as in protest at Republican plunder, but added that the Democratic party had "now been returned to power under very different circumstances." "To the promise of no (sic) honest administration of the government," the editorial went on, "it has added a definite and far-reaching policy of reform of the tariff." That pestilential "no," which nominally pledged the Democrats to dishonesty in office, went through the early editions before being discovered and must have been as good as an extra lump of sugar that morning in many an otherwise bitter Republican cup of coffee. As for the promise of a "far-reaching policy of reform of the tariff" —the treachery which events were to link with the names of Senator Gorman and his associates was to discount that.

The campaign of 1892 was more vigorous in Massachusetts than that of 1888, and there was much to condense into the eight pages of the *Daily Republican* and the eight or ten of the Sunday paper. Massachusetts was invaded by many speakers. These included Governor McKinley of Ohio, and Whitelaw Reid, Republican candidate for the vice-presidency.

During the campaign the *Republican* made a disclosure in regard to the tariff, the importance of which may be less apparent to-day than it was then. Those were the great years of the safety bicycle, and Springfield had a

double claim to be considered the Mecca of the sport. The big races of the season were held on Hampden Park between such men as Zimmerman, Tyler, and Windle—forgotten heroes and record holders. At Chicopee Falls, within what had been the limits of Springfield when the *Republican* was founded, one of the best-known and for a time most profitable machines, the Victor, was manufactured. The best machines then cost $135 to $150 in this country.

The *Republican* was furnished a letter from the president of the Victor company, written while on a vacation in London, quoting the Victor machine to an American correspondent, also enjoying an English vacation, at a price of £20 delivered in the British Isles. The authenticity of the letter was admitted with the usual argument as to the necessity of the tariff if workmen were to be kept employed. But one must think back to the army of wheelmen of that day, eager to make their "century runs," and to see Zimmerman, Tyler, or Windle break records, in order to estimate the influence which that letter in the *Republican* may have had.

Samuel Bowles, the third, and the *Republican* had been too greatly devoted to the cause of peace to take much satisfaction in the dispute of 1895-96 with Great Britain over the Venezuela boundary or to indulge in twisting the lion's tail. Deeply as it admired Grover Cleveland and Richard Olney, it found fault with both sides in the development of a situation which came to hold a threat of war. The *Republican* did not, however, share the intense indignation of the *New York Evening Post* against Olney for having declared the United States "practically sovereign" in this hemisphere. It presented arguments to show that some interpretations of that provocative phrase were defensible and had proved historically

useful when applied. Instead of classing Mr. Olney among the fallen angels and declaring him unfit to hold any office, whatever, as did Lawrence Godkin of the *Post,* the *Republican* continued to think well of Mr. Olney as an able citizen of Massachusetts and servant of the republic. In 1890 it urged his nomination by the Democrats, opposing the suggestion of a third term for Mr. Cleveland.

Although this had nothing to do with its opposition to a third term, the *Republican* found more fault with Mr. Cleveland in his handling of the Venezuela episode than with Mr. Olney. It criticized with particular severity what it termed, "The inevitable mischief of the President's unfortunate and unnecessary threat of war in case a commission, chosen by himself, should report adversely to the British claims in respect to the disputed territory." This comment was made in calling editorial attention to one of a series of letters from London written by a correspondent who signed himself "Spenser," in which the British position was presented with great force and clarity, together with a warning that the controversy was bringing the two nations nearer war than many people realized. The author of these letters, which, while they could not have been popular on this side, were too forcibly stated not to give pause to any intelligent American reader, was Spenser Wilkinson, for many years an editorial writer on the *London Morning Post,* and later professor of military history at Oxford. He was the son of a Manchester banker, an early sympathizer with the North, with whom the second Bowles, on his trip to England in 1862, had formed a friendship that was to endure through succeeding generations. The *Republican* did not altogether accept "Spenser's" interpretations of history in connection with the origin and application of the Monroe Doctrine.

It laid much of the burden of blame on Lord Salisbury for having been "first in using unwise language" in connection with his original refusal to submit the Venezuela issue to arbitration. But the *Republican* first and last earnestly deprecated all talk of war and hailed the reassertion of a spirit of sanity on both sides of the water.

The campaign of 1896 restored the *Republican* to political harmony with its constituency. There was but one course to be followed by a paper which, as far back as Jackson's day, had declared the fundamental need to be a sound currency. The *Republican* opposed Bryan and his silver issue with all its strength. But the Spanish War, fomented by the yellow press beyond the capacity of McKinley to resist, was to bring in its train a new issue and another test of newspaper independence under trying circumstances.

As early as Grant's first term, when Cuba and her ills were to the fore, the *Republican* had declared they did not justify a war with Spain. That was the paper's view in 1898. But the war came, and came close home to Springfield and Western Massachusetts.

The Second Massachusetts Regiment of the national guard, with headquarters in Springfield, was sent to Cuba with regulars and Rough Riders, took its place on the line in the battle of El Caney, and then, because armed only with old-fashioned powder, was ordered while under fire from the enemy to cease firing because the smoke of its rifles marked the American position too plainly. The regiment acquitted itself nobly under these circumstances for which others were responsible, but the *Republican* had something besides the glories of war to recount when its reporters met the local veterans of the brief campaign who were landed at Montauk Point thinned and wasted by disease.

XXIII

IMPERIALISM AND OTHER ISSUES

Into no campaign has the *Republican* ever entered more earnestly and vigorously than that over the retention of the Philippine Islands and the subjection of their inhabitants. It was not at the time an issue so popular as those which many newspapers have chosen to make peculiarly their own. But it roused every moral fiber in the third Samuel Bowles. To him it involved choice of the path the American people were to follow in their further development—democracy or imperialism. Disdaining all flings at the alleged "isms" which he was charged with advocating, he ranked himself with the anti-imperialists, made the *Republican* the champion of their cause, and uttered a new declaration of democracy.

How greatly the anti-imperialists, by the strength of their idealism, the persistence of their faith, and the logic of their reasoning, were instrumental in securing a modification of the original imperialistic attitude toward the Filipinos may to-day be a matter of opinion, with the final chapter still to be written. But the rôle played by the *Republican* under the leadership of Samuel Bowles can be briefly indicated.

It has been the long-established custom to prepare each year a prospectus of the *Republican,* stating the terms of subscription and reasserting its principles in relation to the special problems of the hour. From the days of the second Bowles this annual statement became more than

a mere advertisement; it was a profession of faith. Samuel Bowles, third, actually wrote few editorials, although those of which he carefully indicated the thought and conclusion, and which he read in proof, were beyond count. But this annual statement, year after year, almost without exception, he wrote himself with painstaking care. In 1900 he included the following passages which, in their essence were an editorial utterance, expressed the key-note of the *Republican's* position and revealed the philosophy of its chief:

The *Republican* firmly believes in the American principles of government and society. It does not doubt that through democracy are the people to attain the largest practicable measure of happiness and well-being, not alone the people of the United States, but gradually, ultimately, all the peoples of the earth. It is opposed to imperialism and militarism, to the domination of wealth and aristocracy. It sees in the purchase and conquest of the Philippine Islands new evidence of the unceasing effort of incorporated and syndicated wealth to conduct national affairs in the selfish interest of a class at the expense of the great body of the people.

The *Republican* has profound faith that a larger prosperity, a greater power and wider influence are to be attained for the United States by a strict adherence to our traditional principles in the home government and in foreign relations, than by an imitation of the policies and methods of the European monarchies. It believes in the expansion of our commerce everywhere and of our domain over contiguous territory by peaceful and natural processes. To the advancement of these ideas the *Republican* dedicates itself anew in this time of the Republic's peril from misguided foes in its own household.

In the presidential campaign of 1900 the *Republican* saw the one paramount issue—imperialism. Upon that issue, which it kept to the fore day in and day out, it

supported Bryan, declaring the silver issue, on which it had opposed Bryan in 1896, to be settled. It insisted on the application to the case of the struggling Filipinos of the principles set forth at the time of our birth as a nation in the Declaration of Independence. It brought awkwardly home to the Republicans the contradiction between McKinley's letter accepting renomination in which he said, "The Republican party does not have to assert its devotion to the Declaration of Independence," and the utterances of leading Republican senators who not only did "not have to assert their devotion" but, when cornered, flatly repudiated the doctrine that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

The paper was very far from agreeing with Mr. Bryan in all things, then or at any other time. His attitude on the civil service was not satisfactory to it in theory—nor in practice fourteen years later when as secretary of state he sought offices for "deserving Democrats." But the part for an independent newspaper to play, as Samuel Bowles saw it and as his father had seen it before him, was to seize the paramount issue, if there was one, and by that to determine its course. The historical perspective in which the paper saw the issue of imperialism is indicated in this passage from an editorial printed toward the close of the campaign:

> Burke tried to overthrow the principle of the sovereignty of the people in his philosophical attack upon the French Revolution, and while that attack ultimately failed, he set back the progress of democracy in England a half century. Burke was logical. He assailed the whole philosophical structure of democratic government when he denied the principles of the "consent of the governed" and of popular sovereignty. Logically the present assault of the imperialists

SAMUEL BOWLES
THIRD EDITOR OF THE *REPUBLICAN*
Founder of the *Sunday Republican* in 1878

upon the Declaration of Independence is an assault upon popular government everywhere quite as much as Burke's was.

There were many taunts which it was easy to fling at those who dared take this position. It cost no mental effort to sneer at those who would "haul down the flag." There were unpleasant duties to perform in trying to establish the truth in regard to the practice of the "water cure" on Filipinos from whom information was sought. There were others in exposing the multiplication of houses of ill-fame, and the introduction and multiplication of saloons, in Manila in a day when ideas of the relation of social hygiene and sobriety to the health and efficiency of an army had not penetrated the consciousness of military authorities to the degree of which evidence was to be given in 1917-18. To some, the anti-imperialists were not merely cranks but traitors. But if it is true that the idea of indicting the *Republican* and the *New York Evening Post* for treason was one day brought up in the cabinet at Washington, the idea was not carried into effect.

In 1904 the *Republican* again determined the party and candidate it would support on the question of imperialism. It was fortified in this position by its objection to Roosevelt's "seizure," afterward frankly admitted, of the Panama Canal zone through preventing Colombia, a friendly nation, from putting down the so-called "revolution," which was shrewdly believed to have had its inception in the law offices of the French Company's adroit American counsel. Since then the canal has been built and become a monument to American engineering skill and sanitation, but the verdict on the initial episode is found in the payment of $25,000,000 in damages to Colombia,

and the familiar story attributed to Attorney-General Knox, and never denied by him, that he sarcastically observed in cabinet meeting that he would not advise attempting to give the seizure "any taint of legality."

While the *Republican* supported Judge Parker, it did not find his leadership altogether inspiring and frankly said so. It declared his letter accepting the Democratic nomination "weak especially in dealing with the great and vital question of trust monopoly which, perhaps above any other, takes deep hold on the popular interest." The *Republican* found, however, some qualification of this Democratic weakness in the fact that "tariff reduction would go a long way toward destroying the monopolistic power of producing combinations—much further than President Roosevelt and his party show any disposition to go along other courses; and hence Judge Parker is to be preferred on the anti-trust issue. But tariff reduction, in relation to the general monopoly question, can be considered only a partial remedy."

Two presidential campaigns are marked by the degree to which those who voted for the loser found satisfaction in the official performance of the victor. One of these was the campaign of 1884 with its sequel in the upright and courageous conduct of Grover Cleveland. The columns of the *Republican* from the election of 1904 through much of Roosevelt's remaining service in the White House, afford considerable suggestion that the other was the campaign in which Roosevelt had so overwhelmingly defeated Judge Parker.

In the main issues of Roosevelt's fight for railroad regulation, for the regulation of the packing industry, for the passage of a pure food law, and his extension of the merit system in the selection of government employees, the *Republican* found only cause for its heartiest support.

On the whole, the *Republican* was better pleased with Roosevelt than many members of his own party, who resented, bitterly if ineffectually, his projection of what were then called radical issues which they felt to be outside the proper realm of legislation because never given official endorsement in the party platform. But to such actions as Roosevelt's wholesale dismissal of the negro troops alleged to have been concerned in the Brownsville riot, the *Republican* could not agree. It continued through many weeks editorially to present, with painstaking analysis, the evidence to show that that action was without military, moral, or legal warrant. Nor did it approve his shelving of the tariff issue, although it had to admit, as the later misfortunes of Taft were to demonstrate, that a President who could continuously focus public attention on questions less highly charged with political dynamite, was adroit even if he was not attacking the main task.

The *Republican's* decision to support Taft in 1908 against Bryan, was an indirect tribute to the so-called Roosevelt policies. The decision was made in no small degree because of the belief that those policies would be continued by Taft, less spectacularly but with poise and greater regard for legalities. The *Republican* was to prove, however, a supporter of unusual frankness, not unwilling to criticize either Taft or his party when it disagreed with them. It preferred Taft to Bryan as a man of more solid qualities and better training for the administration of the government, but it punctured what were now pious Republican claims as to the divine origin and legal inheritance of the Roosevelt policies by pointing out that in notable instances Bryan had urged them before Roosevelt had thought of them. It contended that debate as to their origin was idle anyway, and that the question

was who would best carry them out. The *Republican* also criticized Taft for discussing the tariff in a way that made it hard for those who favored revision downward, to which he was pledged, to stand by him.

Walking home from the office one evening, Samuel Bowles remarked with a chuckle that he had just received a personal letter from a Bryanite who at first had been highly indignant with the *Republican* for supporting the Republican ticket, but who now announced that he was quite reconciled because he thought the kind of support the paper was giving Taft was not calculated to do Bryan much harm. But the paper went on supporting Taft as it saw fit and endeavoring to tell the truth about the issues and developments of the campaign.

In the course of the Taft-Bryan campaign the *Republican* found occasion to deal sharply with stump speakers on both sides. On October 15th, 1908, it made special criticism of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, against whose course in subordinating amicable foreign relations to the fancied advantages of partisan politics it had protested early in his career as it was later to protest in the controversy over the League of Nations. On this occasion it flayed Senator Lodge as an aristocratic demagogue in the following passage:

> There are two conspicuous forms of demagogism in politics, the one being what Senator Lodge referred to the other evening as arraying class again class. Arousing social prejudices for political purposes, appealing to the poor man's jealousy of the rich man for the sake of votes, playing upon labor's distrust of capital in order to gain an election—these constitute, in the main that form of demagogism which critics of democracy have always associated with it and which seems, in fact, to be the demagogism that democracy most easily falls into.

But if there is a democratic demagogism, there is also an aristocratic demagogism. Senator Lodge, at this moment, has become its foremost exponent. If the democratic demagogue is prone to array class against class, the aristocratic demagogue is disposed to array nation against nation, to play upon international jealousies and arouse among a people bitter distrust of the purposes of another people—all for the sake of votes. The aristocracy of demagogism has seldom been better illustrated than by Senator Lodge himself in his Tremont Temple speech, when he got down on all fours and with Hobson barked forth a tumult of horrors concerning the sinister purposes of Japan. The American fleet is on its way to Japanese ports where it will be heartily welcomed, let us hope; at this particular moment, the Senator, in words that were doubtless cabled at once to Tokio, found a ready tongue for war-scare oratory. He deliberately aroused hatred among nations as an electoral expedient.

The decision to support the man chiefly identified, as governor general and then as secretary of war, with the government of the Philippines under two Republican administrations, was made without abandonment of the allegiance which Samuel Bowles had given to the cause of anti-imperialism. That issue was carefully weighed, but Mr. Bowles had confidence, however some might wish to exploit the islands, in the sincerity and wholeheartedness with which Taft had subscribed to the doctrine "the Philippines for the Filipinos." While Taft and the *Republican* might differ as to the time of the grant of independence, it felt that with his knowledge of insular problems he would be in a position to promote the best interests of the islands through Congressional legislation. It felt that something had been gained in the fight for anti-imperialism. It knew that Roosevelt himself had discussed with Taft in an interview at the White House, at which the third person present was the *Republican's* Washington

correspondent, the possibility of taking a stand for Philippine independence at a very early date if that was to be the only alternative to procrastination and inaction on the part of Congress in considering legislation which the welfare of the islands demanded. It was recognized that the article which Roosevelt, over Taft's protest that it might be misunderstood, had permitted the correspondent to write, attributing these views to him, was in a sense one of Roosevelt's familiar "trial balloons"; but the incident was an added indication that much water had gone over the dam since the anti-imperialists were denounced as "traitors who would haul down the flag."

The *Republican* found much to commend in the Taft administration despite its misfortunes and the demonstration of Mr. Taft's incapacity to deal with the burdens which had been bequeathed him, particularly through Roosevelt's sidestepping of the tariff issue. The paper deplored the Payne-Aldrich tariff and held that Taft had been betrayed by Congressional leaders who had taken advantage of his confidence and too-easy good will. But it had only praise for his frank courage in daring, in 1911, to call, for the purpose of enacting the ill-fated Canadian reciprocity bill, a special session of a Congress over which he had no party control since the Democrats had secured a majority in the House.

In 1912 the *Republican* favored Taft against Roosevelt for the Republican nomination. It held that in the main Roosevelt's charges against Taft were without valid basis. It was at Springfield that Taft broke his long silence and delivered the first of his public speeches replying to Roosevelt in the now historic controversy. For its preference of Taft for the nomination the *Republican* was rewarded by Roosevelt's referring to it by name, with a few other papers, as belonging to the "plutocratic"

press. The statement was received in the *Republican* office with feelings akin to those of the Pullman porter who, on being asked if he could change a twenty-dollar bill, declared his inability, but expressed his appreciation of the compliment.

Woodrow Wilson's record as governor of New Jersey commended him to the *Republican* before the Baltimore convention of 1912. On his nomination in that historic gathering, reported for the *Republican* by Mr. Griffin, the paper earnestly supported him for election.

XXIV

ROOSEVELT "PLAGIARIZES"

When the second Bowles was burning up his strength in making, and teaching others how to make, a newspaper, organized schools of journalism were far in the future. But before the third Bowles had completed his career there were many, and he had become a trustee of the most noted, the Pulitzer school, connected with Columbia University. The *Republican's* own "school" continued meantime to function under the joint direction of the third Bowles and of Solomon B. Griffin, managing editor. One of the early graduates under the new leadership was Talcott. Williams who, after distinguished service on other papers, became the first head of the Pulitzer school. Another was Colonel George B. M. Harvey, whose thoughts and those of the paper on many issues were later not to run on parallel lines.

The pupils in the "school" had many things to learn. Like workers on other newspapers, they were taught that short words and short sentences were better than long. Some extra emphasis on the study of words was natural in a city another of whose historic institutions was, and is, Webster's Dictionary. They had also to learn that the *Republican* practiced short spelling. The *Republican* never adopted the extreme examples of simplified spelling such as "thru" for which Roosevelt sought general acceptance. But, years before Roosevelt, the paper had been among the pioneers. "Catalog" instead of "catalogue," "cigaret"

instead of "cigarette"—these are shorter forms suggestive of many others which the *Republican* early adopted with a view to simplicity and the saving of space.

Mr. Bowles was in constant touch with the editorial department and dealt directly with it on numerous matters. But its immediate supervision lay with Mr. Griffin. To his courtesy, kindly consideration, and encouragement in all the ideals of journalism, innumerable graduates of the "school" have given affectionate testimony. No man could have venerated more profoundly the memory of the elder Bowles, or been conscious of a deeper devotion to the paper. Opportunities came to him for journalistic work elsewhere that would have been far more remunerative than his work with the *Republican.* But his heart was with the institution and he elected to stay.

Mr. Griffin's acquaintance with public men and other journalists, largely acquired at political conventions, was wider than that of any one who has served the *Republican,* with the single exception of the second Bowles. He made his friendly contact with the world valuable to the paper in two ways. The first was his direct comment in the editorial columns. The second was his spoken word, giving the key to events and to the characters of public men, which he passed along to the younger members of the staff when it was of a nature such as not to warrant being put in type. In the same way his fund of journalistic lore—reminiscences of the ways in which great reporters on other papers had prepared themselves to cover important events—fired the ambitions of the "school."

Among the notable pieces of news brought home by Mr. Griffin to the *Republican* was its published account of the land fraud cases which were prosecuted under the direction of Ethan Allen Hitchcock, Secretary of the Interior. Without intent to be unfair, Roosevelt never

emphasized to the country, as he did the less valuable services of younger men, that which Secretary Hitchcock accomplished. Mr. Griffin contributed greatly to the just public esteem of a courageous cabinet officer.

As in the earlier days of the "school," the graduates who achieved distinction were so numerous that mention must again be limited, with few exceptions, to those whose entire careers were served with the *Republican*. One of the exceptions is that of Ernest Howard who, after graduating at Dartmouth, joined the staff in 1884, and is now an editorial writer on the *New York World*. Mr. Howard remained with the *Republican* nearly thirty years, leaving to join the *World* in 1911. He wrote so ably, particularly on economic subjects, that his contribution to the editorial achievements of the *Republican* was large. An editorial printed February 15th, 1907, under the title, "A State Sovereignty Revival," which was an example of his strong, terse style in marshalling history to enforce an argument, had a hitherto unpublished influence in shaping an important speech by President Roosevelt.

Certain conservative Republican leaders had begun in 1906 and 1907 to raise the standard of states' rights in resisting Roosevelt's demand that the national government be clothed with power to deal with manifest evils which the states, acting individually, were unable to control. Mr. Howard brought home the fact, with the emphasis of striking historical references, that this effort to defend immoral acts by asserting the protection of state rights was in essence exactly what the slaveholders had attempted fifty years before. He summed the matter up: "The party that now undertakes to invoke this doctrine for the protection of state corporate creations in predatory activities extended through other states, is manifesting precisely the same spirit which animated the special

slaveholding interests before the war." The editorial concluded: "On this question of curbing the power of syndicated wealth, through state action if possible and through national action if made necessary by the inability or unwillingness of the states to act effectively, the people are strongly back of President Roosevelt and will continue there."

The editorial was so forceful, and so pat to the issue of the hour, that it occurred to the *Republican's* Washington correspondent that President Roosevelt might be interested. When the correspondent was shown into Roosevelt's office the President was busily engaged in correcting the typewritten draft of the speech which he was to deliver at the Harvard Union the following week. Motioning the correspondent to be seated beside his desk, he continued, with characteristic speed, to go through page after page. When he tossed the last sheet upon the pile in front of him and wheeled his chair, the correspondent handed him the editorial clipping.

With that extraordinary capacity for quick reading which enabled him to devour paragraphs or even pages at a glance, Roosevelt exclaimed, almost before it seemed possible that he could have read the first line, "By George, that's bully! Tell the man who wrote it that I'm going to plagiarize it scandalously. Look here, here's the place where I'm going to put it in my next speech." Suiting the action to the word he hunted for a sheet in the pile of manuscript he had just thrown down, read a few sentences to show the context, and then attached the clipping to the appropriate page for further reference.

Speaking at the Harvard Union on February 23d, 1907, eight days after the editorial had appeared in the *Republican,* President Roosevelt declared, "There has been a curious revival of the doctrine of states' rights."

Developing his position in language similar to that of the editorial, he continued: "But those who invoke the doctrine of states' rights, to protect state corporate creations in predatory activities extended through other states, are as shortsighted as those who once invoked the same doctrine to protect the special slaveholding interest."

In 1888 there came to the *Republican* a young reporter fresh from Tufts College, where he had distinguished himself both as a scholar and a football player. One of his editorials nearly thirty years later was to receive international acknowledgment in a grave crisis, through being publicly described, not as having furnished thought or language for a presidential speech, but as having in itself surpassed a presidential speech in the effect it produced in a belligerent foreign capital. This reporter was Waldo L. Cook, the present editor of the *Republican*.

In 1893 came Francis E. Regal, the elder of two brothers educated at Oberlin College, who has since distinguished himself in many lines, but particularly as musical critic and as foreign editor, dealing with war and diplomacy. His younger brother, Howard K. Regal, came in 1894, beginning a service that has carried him, after directing with conspicuous ability the sporting, dramatic, and city departments, to his present position of managing editor. In 1892 came Richard S. Brooks, who has won his place as an editorial writer recognized through long study as speaking with authority in the field of social and industrial legislation. In 1909 came Edward N. Jenckes, a Harvard graduate who, after the initial service of a reporter, filled the position of dramatic editor and then of literary editor, adding much carefully informed editorial writing on railroad operation, of which he has been a persistent student, and on general business.

Thus all the present editorial writers, have been taught in the same "school" in which they are still serving.

As in every other newspaper office the longest and busiest sessions of the "school," barring extraordinary emergency, have come on election nights. The system which the *Republican* began to build up more than seventy-five years ago for the collection of returns from all western Massachusetts, including the remote hill towns, adds to the activity. The little town of New Ashford, high in the Berkshires, was given a national fame in 1916, and again in 1920, as the first in the country to have its votes counted and announced through the press early on election day. This achievement was not wholly due to the ingrained punctuality of the New Ashford voters. It was arranged by newspaper men, including the *Republican's* efficient chief county correspondent, in actually getting all the voters to the polls, transporting them where necessary, and so establishing the facts for a "beat" on the rest of the country. For nearly a generation the immediate organizer of the *Republican's* western Massachusetts election machinery has been its suburban editor, Harry R. Lloyd, who joined the staff in 1898.

The resources of the "school" never have made it possible to send members of the staff to the far corners of the earth on special assignments. The *Republican* can boast of no Stanley dispatched to the heart of Africa in search of Livingstone. But the value of travel as part of a newspaper man's education was woven into the *Republican* tradition by the second Bowles. The third Bowles painstakingly encouraged travel on the part of the members of the staff, so far as within his power. In addition to this, although it was not financially possible to dispatch a man from the office whenever an extraordinary news development took place in any part of the country, Mr.

Bowles was probably more liberal than the publishers of other provincial papers in sending men out whenever he felt that he could.

Aside from political conventions, so notably covered by Mr. Griffin, it was the practice of the paper to send men to important art exhibits. These were covered by Charles G. Whiting, almost until his death, and now are covered by Richard S. Brooks. Historical anniversaries, the full significance and picturesque appeal of which might not be caught in the Associated Press dispatches, were also covered, at the direction of Mr. Bowles, by members of the staff whenever the distance was not too great. When the Prince of Wales, now King George V of England, made his trip to the Quebec Tercentenary in 1908, the *Republican* sent Brewer Corcoran, who has later devoted himself to the writing of books, to report the spectacle. His dispatches won special praise from Mr. Bowles for their reflection of the picturesque quality of that interesting occasion.

XXV

THE NEWSPAPER AND THE ADVERTISER

The independence of a newspaper faces other tests than those of politics. There are services to the public besides those covered by the endeavor to give "all the news and the truth about it." Chief among these is the printing of advertisements.

The independence of the *Republican* from any influence over its news or editorial columns on the part of its advertisers was established, if not at its birth, then at the first instant that it was questioned. It therefore antedated by many years the paper's independence of political parties.

In 1822 the first Samuel Bowles was trying desperately to make a go of the *Hartford Times.* An offer of $500 was made for that paper's support of "a certain Presidential candidate," as Mr. Bowles years afterward described the episode. The offer was "rejected with scorn" in spite of the fact, as Mr. Bowles added, that "we were then so poor we could not pay our debts."

Not long after Mr. Bowles had succeeded in paying, through the *Republican's* small and slowly won prosperity, the last of those Hartford debts, all of which a worthless and intemperate partner had shouldered on him, the test of honest journalism came in Springfield. The largest advertiser in the *Republican,* "whose custom was worth more to me than $100 a year, being greater by half than any customer," threatened to withdraw his patronage because of Mr. Bowles's refusal to publish "a

certain anonymous communication." In the reminiscent notes written for his family Mr. Bowles cautiously refrained from mentioning the name of either the "Presidential candidate" for whom support was to be bought in 1822, or that early captain of industry and commerce who in 1838 was spending all of $100 a year advertising in the *Republican*.

The editor who could not be bought for $500, when he was over his head in debt, was hardly likely to sell himself for $100 when he had all his debts paid and owed no man a cent. That great advertiser, whoever he was, received a formal and dignified communication, as became the time, that the editor of the *Republican* would continue to do the editing himself according to his "own conscience and sense of duty." The advertising was not withdrawn, in spite of the threat, and the episode gained the *Republican* "a few new subscribers." It may seem a small matter now, but Mr. Bowles described it as "the greatest trial" he ever experienced in "conducting" his newspaper.

The first Bowles kept his honor clean, but he was not able to do all that he wished in improving the appearance of his newspaper through regulation of its advertisements. He evidently had the same fastidious taste in typographical neatness, which marked his son, and, most of all three, his grandson. In 1839 he announced that after an early date no advertiser would be allowed to break the column rule, that is to insert an advertisement two or more columns wide with the column rules eliminated. Apparently his eye had been offended, as well it might be, by the crude woodcuts illustrating the advertisements of an ancient hardware firm whose history through successive generations has been hardly less a part of the history of Springfield than that of the *Republican* has been.

After the announced date the rule was enforced, the cuts disappeared, and the *Republican* was a better looking sheet. But whatever the reason, the pressure was evidently too great. After a number of months the rule was abandoned, and the cuts reappeared. To be forced to yield on a point once publicly made must have been as uncomfortable as it was rare. Years later, through a long period the *Republican* successfully insisted, almost alone among the newspapers of the country, on the exclusion from advertisements of any illustrations or trademarks, the exclusion in fact of anything except what could be set in the paper's own carefully selected types.

It is probable that the independent spirit of the second Bowles early became too generally recognized for him to suffer from demands that the milder demeanor of another man might have invited. Yet for a brief period of illusionment, the head of a local industry appears to have thought that he was paying for matter in the *Republican's* news columns. Mr. Bowles had sent a reporter to write an account of the industry, thinking that its news interest warranted the pains. The manufacturer at once sent him a pleasant note and a check for $100, but without mentioning the check in the note. Mr. Bowles returned the check, called off the reporter, and, according to the tradition, made an enemy for life.

It was during the direction of the *Republican* by the third Samuel Bowles that the business of advertising was placed on its present highly organized and measurably scientific basis. As a part of that development, the rapidity of which could not be expected to be more free from evils than equally rapid development in other lines, demands were in some cases made on the newspapers of the country which fortunately would not be made to-day.

It was Mr. Bowles's pride to give his advertisers the

fullest value in the dignity and typographical effectiveness with which their notices were printed, but he never had the least intention of letting them dictate anything about the running of his newspaper. If they advertised in the *Republican* they did so at its published rates and accepted its regulations; otherwise they stayed out. Such virtues of consistent business practice had a greater distinction in provincial journalism up to within a few years ago than they have now.

"The Patent Medicine Conspiracy Against the Freedom of the Press," was the title of an article by Mark Sullivan in *Collier's Weekly* of November, 1905. With good-will instead of malice it gave the *Republican* more advertising than it had received since "Jim" Fisk and his corrupt judge had thrown the second Bowles into Ludlow Street jail nearly forty years before. The story is best told as *Collier's* printed it:

In the Lower House of the Massachusetts Legislature one day last March there was a debate which lasted one whole afternoon and engaged some twenty speakers, on a bill providing that every bottle of patent medicine sold in the state should bear a label stating the contents of the bottle. More was told concerning patent medicines that afternoon than often comes to light in a single day. The debate at times was dramatic—a member from Salem told of a young woman of his acquaintance now in an institution for inebriates as the end of an incident which began with patent medicine dosing for a harmless ill. There was humor, too, in the debate—Representative Walker held aloft a bottle of Peruna bought by him in a drug store that very day, and passed it around for his fellow-members to taste and decide for themselves whether Dr. Harrington, the Secretary of the State Board of Health, was right when he told the Legislative Committee that it was merely a "cheap cocktail."

In short, the debate was interesting and important—the

two qualities which invariably ensure to any event big headlines in the daily newspapers. But that debate was not celebrated by big headlines, nor any headlines at all.

I take it if any man should assert that there is one subject upon which the newspapers of the United States, acting in concert and as a unit, will deny full and free discussion, he would be smiled at as an intemperate fanatic. The thing is too incredible. He would be regarded as a man with a delusion. And yet I invite you to search the files of the daily newspapers of Massachusetts for March 16, 1905, for an account of the patent medicine debate that occurred the afternoon of March 15 in the Massachusetts Legislature. In strict accuracy it must be said that there was one exception. Any one familiar with the newspapers of the United States will already have named it—the *Springfield Republican.* That paper, on two separate occasions, gave several columns to the record of the proceedings of the Legislature on the patent medicine bill. Why the otherwise universal silence?

In explanation of this remarkable episode Mr. Sullivan called attention to the tremendous volume of newspaper advertising done by the patent medicine companies. He quoted verbatim a clause in a standard contract for such advertising issued by one of the largest of those companies. This clause provided that the contract might be canceled "in case advertisements are published in this paper in which their (the advertiser's) products are offered, with a view to substitution or other harmful motive, also in case any other matter detrimental to their (the advertiser's) interests is permitted to appear in the reading columns or elsewhere in the paper." Obviously the reports of that debate might be construed, or some people were fearful they would be construed, as "detrimental."

It is only just to the press of Massachusetts to express the confident opinion that were such a debate to be held

to-day, the *Republican* would be far from the only paper to report it. If that is the fact some part of the credit for progress made in the service of the public belongs to Samuel Bowles and the *Republican* for having furnished an exception which Mr. Sullivan and *Collier's Weekly* could then make so embarrassing to all the other papers of the state and to the consciences of publishers in other states who had yielded in similar circumstances.

Mr. Bowles did not reject all patent-medicine advertising, although on study he progressively narrowed the list of proprietary medicines whose advertising he accepted. This he did both on scrutiny of the text and its fitness to appear in the paper and such knowledge as was obtainable as to ingredients and healthfulness. After his death, when the *Republican* acquired control of an evening paper, a further step was taken in this phase of newspaper management, although one which, under new conditions, was a sequence of those he had taken.

The addition of the evening paper, with foreign or national advertising accepted only for both morning and evening insertion, evidently meant a large increase in the amount of proprietary medicine advertising that would be offered. Recognizing that some of these medicines undoubtedly had merits, it also was obvious that if the standards of the past were to be maintained the business of selection would be increasingly difficult, vexatious, and productive of controversy. It therefore was determined in August, 1915, to accept no more contracts for "internal medical preparations" of any sort. That rule has since been adhered to.

Another problem of advertising, involving what seems to the *Republican* an important principle, has presented itself more particularly since the death of Samuel Bowles, owing to the shortage of labor which has, at times, been

faced by the manufacturing industry generally both during and since the war. It has not seemed proper to the *Republican,* in discharging its obligations as a public servant, to follow the practice, which prevails in some other cities, of refusing to insert the advertisements of outside manufacturers who may seek employees in the *Republican's* constituency. It has seemed that in fairness the artisan had as much right to sell his labor to the highest bidder as the manufacturer to sell his product.

This policy has not at all times found complete local agreement. Manufacturers have pointed out that they were not allowed to advertise for employees in certain other labor markets, although other manufacturers were permitted to advertise in the *Republican.* Yet when the reasons have been presented the policy followed by the *Republican* has sometimes won unexpected agreement.

"How do you defend your practice?" was the belligerent beginning of a letter received in a time of acute labor shortage from an exasperated manufacturer. It seemed doubtful whether a reply to such a letter would accomplish anything, but the effort was made to set forth the reasons. By return mail came a letter which could not have been exceeded in courtesy or in the generosity and frankness with which the manufacturer reversed his position, agreed to the justice of the policy, and admitted that he had not before thought of the grounds on which it was based.

Until the year 1914, the *Republican,* in common with most other newspapers, printed liquor advertisements, particularly of the products of local breweries which at times inserted advertisements occupying full pages. The third Bowles was a man of almost ascetic habits, who took liquor in any form only very rarely, but was not a total abstainer. Early in 1914 a Massachusetts state com-

mission issued a report showing that drunkenness was increasing alarmingly, with a host of attendant evils. The *Republican,* in commenting on the report in an editorial, which Mr. Bowles did not see before it appeared in the paper, declared that "it is the duty of every citizen to consider carefully what he personally may do to aid in turning the rising tide of inebriety into a tide of sobriety, which must mean better lives among the people of Massachusetts."

When he reached the office that day Mr. Bowles was ready to act. He sent individually for two members of the editorial staff, one the author of the editorial, Waldo L. Cook, the other a director of the company. "Do you think the *Republican* should eliminate liquor advertisements?" was his question to the latter. The answer being in the affirmative, his next and only other question was, "Will you back that up as a director?" That question was answered likewise, and he abruptly terminated the interview, as was his habit, when his desk was piled high, with a terse "Good-by." Nothing more was said.

Before the end of the week every liquor advertisement was thrown out of the *Republican* forever, and an advertising revenue amounting to thousands of dollars annually was voluntarily forfeited. In August came the outbreak of the war. Financial advertising, in which the *Republican* has always been a leader, ceased almost entirely. Newspaper revenues were gravely reduced. The difficulties and perplexities of management increased. But in his annual report to the stockholders of the Republican Company, made a few weeks before he died, Mr. Bowles recounted with undaunted pride the elimination of the liquor advertisements, not as a step to be defended, but as the only step which the *Republican* could have taken in the situation which it faced.

XXVI

A TRIUMPH OF CHARACTER

The history of the American press from 1878 to 1915, the period of the direction of the *Republican* by the third Samuel Bowles, was not marked, in the superficial view at least, by the general cultivation of the journalistic practices and ideals for which he spent his life. That period covered, most conspicuously, the development of the "yellow press." Yet the common tribute which the newspapers of the country joined in paying him on his death, March 14th, 1915, was so extraordinary as to leave no doubt that he had made an impression which, although different in the sense of not being associated with individually brilliant exploits, was scarcely less strong than that of his father.

The third Bowles once said, "I realize that I came after a great man; I have never expected personal fame." He would have been amazed could he have realized that hardly a paper of importance in the country failed to pay him tribute, no matter how bitterly it might have differed from him in politics.

It was not the inheritor of a splendid tradition, it was not the director of the Associated Press—he had been elected in 1913 and had served with scrupulous fidelity to the trust—to whose memory this praise was given. Nor was it to an inventor of new methods of pandering to low tastes or to a builder of great newspaper circulation. The tribute paid was one to character—the character of a man reflected in his newspaper.

The story is told by a veteran newspaper friend of the late Colonel William R. Nelson, of the *Kansas City Star,* that Colonel Nelson years afterward picturesquely revealed how close to failure and suspension his effort had once come. In the hour when the tide seemed to turn in his favor, Colonel Nelson made the promise to himself that he "would be good to Kansas City." To-day a magnificent park system is but one of the evidences how that promise was fulfilled.

To the larger audience, the local problems of honest government, and of municipal development to which the third Bowles gave his zealous, unflagging interest in the city of his birth, would require a degree of explanation which space does not permit. He had a profound appreciation of beauty in art and nature. He neither inherited nor acquired a fortune enabling him to bequeath museums or parks. Nor, although he went through anxious business trials made more difficult by the independence of his newspaper, was there a dramatic moment in which he promised a votive offering. His was not a dramatic nature. But, with an intense affection for and pride in his city, he was "good to Springfield" in all the ways that his heart could prompt, his brain devise, and his strength accomplish.

With a foresight which must now, perhaps too late, be conceded by those who once derided the project, Mr. Bowles labored for what then seemed to most of his fellow citizens, an impossible development in the removal of the tracks of the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad from Springfield's river front on the Connecticut. It was a splendid vision for an encircling park system and for the recovery of that beauty which many another American river city has similarly lost but might regain.

That was the boldest of his dreams of local develop-

ment. Its realization would not only have made Springfield a still more beautiful city than it is, but would have set an example as to how such things might be done. To-day other causes are about to bring the removal of a disfiguring gas plant from the river front—one of the items in his plan of twenty years ago—and beauty and utility seem not so unrelated after all.

Yet while Mr. Bowles was not to see the achievement of this plan, which would have involved the building of two new railroad bridges, but which passing events have demonstrated to have been more practical than then appeared, he was successful in lesser schemes of municipal development. The long, unwearying campaign which he waged to "make a more beautiful city" did not lack immediate results, although its chief value was educational. A series of articles on city planning was written at his direction by Francis E. Regal before Springfield had a planning commission. The extended Court Square Park on which Springfield's remarkable municipal group—a unique architectural conception—to-day looks out, is due to his having inspired an appeal for private subscriptions in 1902.

There has been much dispute as to where the movement for the "safe and sane" celebration of the Fourth of July, which spread rapidly about twenty years ago, had its origin. Whether or not Springfield saw the birth of the idea is not material. In that time, when the excesses and dangers of the old style of unrestricted celebration had come to a climax, it is probable that the idea was simultaneously conceived in more than one place in which conditions were intolerable.

A letter to the *Republican* from the late Charles Eliot Norton, whose summer home was at Ashfield in Western Massachusetts, was the immediate spur to Mr. Bowles's

thought and he led in the formation of the Independence Day Association of Springfield. This was a voluntary and unincorporated organization, backed by the city government and the Chamber of Commerce, which took over the direction of the day's activities, organized patriotic exercises, athletic sports and other forms of entertainment and outlets for bursting energies. At the track games, held under these auspices at the largest of Springfield's parks, came the discovery, in a Negro boy who had been too poor to buy a pair of proper shoes, of an athlete, Howard Drew, who was for a time to be famous as the world's fastest runner. Of more value than such an incident was the stimulation to good citizenship when the different races that now form New England's population joined in friendly and kaleidoscopic rivalry in picturing their separate traditions and their common allegiance to the new flag.

Such was the background of service and local pride from which the third Samuel Bowles approached the larger problems of state and nation and of peace between the nations. To him the direction of a newspaper meant a constant obligation to make and to seize opportunities for bettering the life of the community. He was willing to oppose old friends, not with personal animosity, but with a dogged persistence which sometimes seemed pestiferous to them, when he thought their projects contrary to the common good. He believed that, for a city so situated as Springfield, tall office buildings, shutting off light and adding inevitably to problems of traffic congestion, were undesirable and that their height should be limited in the interest of the general development. When the largest insurance company in the city, with whose officers he was on special terms of intimacy, planned to put up a building which, though it would not rank as a

skyscraper in the big cities, exceeded anything then in Springfield, he invoked every possible and honorable expedient to prevent it, arguing the case day after day editorially, and carrying it to legislative hearings in Boston. He was not afraid to keep hammering away, until he had exhausted the last possible legal resource, even though his readers showed signs of getting tired of the issue.

In an address on "Art and Conscience in Newspaper Making" delivered before the students of the Pulitzer School of Journalism in October, 1913, Mr. Bowles gave expression both to his ideals of newspaper service and to his fastidious taste in typographical appearance. "The primary duty of the daily newspaper," he said, "continues to be to chronicle accurately and truthfully the events of consequence in its own environment, and to promote there earnestly and persistently the public good." In this address he quoted a letter written him by a wise old woman in which she uttered a profound truth in homely phrase when she said, "It is the work poorly done that retards the world." He went on to preach this undramatic text, the text of his everyday practice and his everyday demand in his own office. Here was revealed the passion for efficiency which made him the successful head of a growing enterprise. And his passion for social justice, shown in countless struggles for the protection of the oppressed, was revealed when he quoted as an expression of the ideal of a newspaper, that it should have:

> —eyes to behold the truth;
> A seeing sense that knows the eternal right;
> A heart with pity filled, and gentlest ruth;
> A manly faith that makes all darkness light;
> —the power to labor for mankind,
> —the mouth of such as cannot speak.

The career of the third Bowles, compared with that of the father whose memory he venerated, was lacking in dramatic or sensational episodes. He was never the anonymous reporter who exposed the doings of secret political conventions; he broke no records while crossing the continent; he never was thrown into jail by the combination of scoundrel and corrupt judge. Times had changed. But he and his paper were respected and feared. It was known that they could no more be controlled than in the days when the guns of the *Republican* had been turned on Phelps or Fisk and Gould.

It is not necessary to suggest that the management of the New Haven railroad was like that of those early operators. But a familiar anecdote of an episode which occurred in a directors' meeting illustrates the strength of the position occupied by the third Bowles at a time when that railroad still found it convenient, as later disclosed, to aid in the finances and own some of the securities of at least one well known newspaper. To a certain member of the board, Charles S. Mellen, then president, put the question, "Isn't there some one up in your vicinity who can control the *Springfield Republican?*"

The answer was pithy. "I should like to know who he is," replied the director. "I'll resign in his favor, for this railroad will need his services." It was reported that at a later meeting Mr. Mellen advised the board that he had investigated the *Republican* and had found Mr. Bowles "a dyspeptic crank, but honest."

In 1915, when the third Bowles died in harness, as he would have wished, the *New Republic* declared: "In many respects the *Springfield Republican* stands as the highest achievement of American journalism." Referring to Mr. Bowles personally, it added: "To him the publication of a newspaper was not a business. It was an

art to be pursued in the light of artistic conscience, and to that art Mr. Bowles devoted himself unsparingly. A stern taskmaster with others, he was equally relentless with himself. Although he paid small salaries and offered little besides the opportunity to do good work, he was able to produce a newspaper which, in days of haste and adulteration, was universally admired as scrupulous, responsible and rightly sophisticated, and his office was probably the best training school in the country."

The *Lowell Courier-Citizen* said, "The *Springfield Republican* is unique in the United States—a newspaper of national—even international—reputation printed in a subordinate city; and it is a monument to the name of Samuel Bowles . . . at once the inspiration and despair of its contemporaries."

XXVII

WORLD WAR JOURNALISM

The history of the *Republican* since the death of the third Samuel Bowles is to be told briefly. Except for some interchange of titles and functions, and for the retirement four years later of Solomon B. Griffin, those who then undertook the burden of carrying on the tradition are still engaged in that task.

In the summer of 1915 a controlling interest was bought from Charles J. Bellamy in the Springfield *Daily News*, an evening paper founded in 1880 by the late Charles J. Bellamy, senior, brother of Edward Bellamy, the author of "Looking Backward." Mr. Bellamy retained his active connection as president of the Daily News Publishing Company. The *Daily News,* edited by its separate staff, has since been produced from the same plant as the *Republican.* Nearly fifty years before the second Bowles had tried the experiment of printing an earlier *Evening News* from the *Republican* plant, but, on finding the community not yet ready for such a development, discontinued it.

In January, 1916, the *Republican* became the first paper published outside of the metropolitan cities regularly to print a Sunday section of fine illustrations, at first by a lithographic process and then by rotogravure. In 1919 a new and modern plant, devoted exclusively to newspaper production, was begun and was occupied early in 1920. In 1922 the price of the *Daily Republican* was reduced from 3 cents to 1. The paper had been sold at the non-

competitive price of 3 cents, in the face of a rival circulation at 2 cents for more than 20 years. After a year's cultivation of a larger clientele at 1 cent, the price was raised to 2 cents in April, 1923, and there remains.

These important changes were carried through under the leadership and inspiration of Sherman Hoar Bowles, general manager of the Republican Company and a son of the third Samuel. They were accomplished in turn as resources and circumstances permitted. The ownership at the one-hundredth anniversary was vested more nearly exclusively in the hands of the descendants of the founder than at his death in 1851 or at the death of the third Samuel Bowles in 1915.

The outbreak of the World War found still serving stanchly at the helm of the *Republican* a pilot than whom few men had given more earnest and consistent support to the cause of peace. Death came to the third Samuel Bowles seven months later, before the problems as to the position of the United States had begun to be made increasingly acute by the succession of events, beginning with the sinking of the *Lusitania,* which finally rendered our participation in the war inevitable. His sympathies were strongly with England and France. The year he had spent as a youth in Germany studying among a then quiet folk made him recoil the more from the criminal courses into which a great people had been led by its dominant military class. But he believed that in the immediate crisis, the policy of the United States should be one of neutrality. On his death a nephew, Richard Hooker, son of the eldest daughter of the second Samuel Bowles, was made president and publisher of the Republican Company and editor of the *Republican.* Mr. Hooker had served in various positions since 1900, acting for a number of years as staff correspondent in Washing-

ton during the sessions of Congress. Mr. Griffin remained as managing editor until 1919, and Waldo L. Cook, who for some years had been the strongest contributor to the editorial page, continued to shape it. Mr. Griffin, after his retirement, devoted himself, full of honors from the press of the whole country, to writing his reminiscences. Mr. Cook became editor of the *Republican* in 1922 when Mr. Hooker resigned because of ill-health, though continuing to be president of the Republican Company and to make editorial contributions.

In February, 1916, the editorial influence of the *Republican* was given international recognition in an incident rare if not unique in newspaper history. Under date of February 6th, the Berlin correspondent of the Associated Press sent the following dispatch, which was printed throughout the United States:

Berlin, Feb. 6.

President Wilson's Kansas speech made little impression here. A deeper one was effected by an editorial in the *Springfield Republican* tending to show how a continuance of the controversy would be in Great Britain's interest. The rejoinder of Count von Reventlow and kindred spirits are the best testimony of the effect produced.

President Wilson was then on his Western tour making in strong language a plea for naval preparedness as the only means of national security in the midst of the European war. The extended editorial in the *Republican* to which an impartial observer attributed such extraordinary influence had been written by Waldo L. Cook and was printed in the *Republican* of January 28th. Apparently Ambassador von Bernstorff had in some way caused it to be relayed to Berlin, unless it had been cabled to London and from there been obtained by the Germans as reprinted in the English papers. In any event, Berlin

had read and digested it before it would ordinarily have arrived by mail in times of peace. The editorial was headed: "Britain, America and Germany." It began:

There is good news for the British government and people whenever it is reported that Germany has not yet met America's demands concerning the *Lusitania*. If a British sympathizer in this country denounces the President for not bringing Germany to terms without another moment's delay, he shows a weak grasp of the complex situation in our international relations, for it is precisely this delay in reaching a final settlement in the *Lusitania* case that prevents Washington from pursuing a more aggressive policy toward the entente powers regarding the rights of neutral commerce.

The *Republican* found only less interesting news of itself in a list which the British postal authorities gave out, before the entry of the United States into the war, enumerating certain articles which had been counterfeited in the effort to get packages of rubber into Germany through the mails. One of the articles so counterfeited was announced to be the *Springfield Weekly Republican.*

The mailing sheets of the days before the war and the early war period are no longer available. But the total circulation of the *Weekly Republican* in Germany, even when American travelers were there, can never have been more than a few score. The effort to get separate packages containing only an ounce or two of rubber through the British blockade in this way, was an indication both of the desperate need which Germany had of rubber and of a probable guess at the *Republican's* European circulation based on an appraisal of its editorial influence rather than a knowledge of actual figures. Presumably the British officials suddenly found far too many *Republicans* in the mails they examined. If the bitter complaint of the *Republican's* editorial attitude toward Germany which

in the late spring of 1915 had been lodged in the *Republican* office, in language little short of menacing, by a German publicist afterward detained as an enemy alien, was shared by other Germans, not many copies of the paper could have been wanted in Germany.

In 1916 the *Republican,* which had supported Woodrow Wilson in 1912, supported him for re-election. It had heartily approved the leadership which he had made effective in the passage of the Federal Reserve Act and in the repeal of the law which, in violation of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, exempted American ships passing through the Panama Canal from the payment of tolls. It had approved also of the principle underlying Mr. Wilson's efforts to prevent interference and war with Mexico. It supported him for reëlection, believing that he had earned it, and that to elect Mr. Hughes would, in spite of his high qualities, paralyze the foreign policy of the government for five months in a time of the gravest international crisis.

As the *Republican* had consistently and persistently favored the grant to the Lincoln administration during the Civil War of whatever powers it needed to end the war most quickly, it supported in 1917 the selective draft and other measures essential to the rapid organization of the fighting power of the nation. But it did not look kindly on the adoption of unnecessary legislation interfering with freedom of speech. It felt, as the event proved, that such legislation would be made an abuse in the hysteria of the hour and tend to become a weakness rather than an element of added strength.

The war and the relation of the press to it developed new problems. Radical changes in the conditions of modern warfare were coupled with changes which had taken place since the Civil War, and since the Spanish

War, in the assumed value and permissible limits of the censorship. The Japanese in their war with Russia had been most notably responsible for such development in the general area of hostilities. It seems to have been the verdict of the Bureau of Military Intelligence at Washington that the press of the country coöperated with scrupulous care in withholding the publication of news that might have been of value to the enemy. But questions inevitably arose as to the wisdom of certain phases of the censorship. When, for example, it became a matter of common though unpublished knowledge that the 26th or New England Division, under command of General Edwards, had reached the other side, the *Republican* took up with the authorities at Washington the problem whether, in the effort to mobilize a whole nation, both for activity in essential war industries and for popular subscriptions to war loans, it was not desirable to stimulate popular interest by publication of the fact that local troops were in France.

The point raised was whether the censorship should not reasonably be modified to achieve a valid military purpose in the stimulation of essential activities at home. In a memorandum received from the War Department, by way of the White House, it was explained that while the presence of certain divisions in France was probably known to the Germans, the department shrank from making this a certainty and from revealing that there was a regular schedule for the dispatch of troops. It was a striking commentary on this confidential correspondence that it was quickly followed by a public statement on the part of John W. Weeks, then senator and later secretary of war, in which he openly referred to the presence of the 26th Division in France. His speech was generally reported. If any harm was done the press was not aware

of it. Yet while the mobilization of a whole nation properly throws a new light on the censorship, no journalist would contend that there should be reversion to the days of the Civil War when the *Republican,* in common with other newspapers and with the apparent permission of the authorities, printed the names and points of departure of Union vessels sent out to intercept the rebel privateer *Tallahassee* operating off the northern coast.

A provincial newspaper could not afford to maintain staff correspondents with the troops in France. The *Republican* was forced to rely on the Associated Press and on purchasing from metropolitan papers, for simultaneous publication with them, special reports which they received from their men at the front. The situation was thus again in essence what it had been during the Civil War, except that now the business of news gathering was far more highly organized. But in addition to printing the news thus received, there was service to be performed in editorial interpretation of it.

During the Balkan War, 1912-13, the *Republican* had discovered that in its foreign editor, Francis E. Regal, it had a student not only of international politics, but of military operations, whose writings commanded expert approval. It was possible, to a degree that had been impossible in 1861-5, for a civilian to equip himself to write with authoritative understanding of military strategy and tactics. In addition to such daily editorials as the news called for, Mr. Regal began in 1916, when the British drive on the Somme put the war again in motion on the Western front, a "Weekly War Review" printed in the *Sunday Republican* and reprinted in the *Weekly.*

Syndicated war reviews had been offered from time to time which were necessarily distributed through the mails early in the week and were likely to be out of date

before they could be printed. Mr. Regal's interpretation of events attracted so much attention that other papers sought permission to use it and its syndication from the *Republican* office was suggested. Since the fighting ceased, this review has been continued by Mr. Regal as a Sunday feature, taking the theme and title of "Weekly Review of World Affaris," and dealing with the tangled skein of international politics. It has won extraordinary approval, including that of professional military men as well as of officials charged with diplomatic duties—the actors in the events interpreted.

XXVIII

THE PROBLEMS OF PEACE

The problems of peace, as faced by the journalist, have not all been easier than those of war.

Foreseeing that the efforts of President Wilson for a liberal policy in making peace would be opposed by political partisans, and that his "fourteen points" were already under attack, the *Republican* sought, before the armistice of November, 1918, to bring its influence to bear, in the senatorial elections of that year, toward Mr. Wilson's support. It accepted the assurances of David I. Walsh, who twice had been elected Democratic governor of Massachusetts and served with credit, that he would follow Wilson's lead. It therefore urged the people of Massachusetts to vote for Mr. Walsh for senator in preference to John W. Weeks, the occupant of the seat and a candidate for reëlection. Mr. Walsh was elected by a comparatively small margin. From his seat in the Senate he opposed the League of Nations, repudiating his pledge to follow Wilson's leadership. As soon as his position was made clear the *Republican* printed an editorial apology to the people of Massachusetts for having asked them to support him.

In the Massachusetts State election of 1918, the year in which Mr. Walsh was elected to the Senate, the *Republican* supported Calvin Coolidge in his first campaign for the governorship. It supported him again a year later, with added earnestness, when the effort of

Democratic managers to capitalize the discontents associated with the famous Boston police strike made the Republicans the defenders of law and order and gave them an issue on which they swept the State. This campaign, which resulted in the reëlection of Calvin Coolidge as governor, was fought in the months in which the issue over the League of Nations was coming to a head in Washington. The first open political collision came in drafting the state platform on which Governor Coolidge was renominated in Boston in September, 1919.

Winthrop Murray Crane, United States Senator from Massachusetts, 1904-13, long a leader in national and state politics, had risen above partisanship and had declared himself in favor of the League as the means to a real peace. Knowing Mr. Crane's plans and what he stood for, and that Senator Lodge, whose hostility to the League was equally known, was hurrying on from Washington, the *Republican* was able, in advance of the convention, to forecast the dramatic contest which was to follow. A representative of the *Republican* was in the hotel room with Mr. Crane in the late hours of the night before the convention, when Mr. Crane issued his ultimatum with the demand that the platform to be adopted next day should call for the ratification of the treaty, including the League, "without amendment." Next day the platform, with those words in it, was adopted by the convention, and on it Governor Coolidge, two months later, was reëlected.

The reference of the Massachusetts Republican platform of 1919 to the League of Nations was, as far as it went, in substantial harmony with the position which the *Republican* then held and has continued to hold. The *Republican* did not consider the Lodge reservations desirable or necessary to safeguard the clearly established con-

stitutional power of Congress over the declaration of war. But in time the issue became definite between entry into the League with the Lodge reservations or complete rejection of the League by the United States. The *Republican* thereupon strongly urged President Wilson to accept the reservations, in the belief that, in so far as they were an insincere misstatement of constitutional law, time and practice would render them meaningless.

In the Presidential campaign of 1920 the *Republican* supported Governor Cox of Ohio because of the issue of the League. It analyzed the speeches of Senator Harding to show that, in submission to the views of the irreconcilable isolationists in the Senate, he was adjusting his position to theirs and that the thirty-one Liberal Republicans, including Herbert Hoover and Charles E. Hughes, who appealed for a Republican victory in that year as the best means of insuring entry into the League, were deluding themselves—as the event proved. In the preconvention campaign for the Republican nomination the *Republican* had earnestly favored Mr. Hoover.

The Washington Conference for the Limitation of Armaments called by President Harding commanded strong support from the *Republican,* which endeavored to demonstrate, by analysis of the competitive growth of the leading navies, that the conference, while falling short of what might be accomplished under the League of Nations, was, nevertheless, performing a great and imperatively needed service. The *Republican* similarly supported, as a step in the right direction, President Harding's proposal, as originally stated by him and defined by Secretary Hughes, that the United States enter the World Court, to the creation of which Elihu Root had lent his great abilities.

In its support of the League of Nations and the World

Court, the *Republican* took a position which was not unique. Its position on the Prohibition issue, however, has been almost unique among the important newspapers of the East. It not only has favored law enforcement since the adoption of the 18th amendment, but it urged the original adoption of that amendment, foreseeing that there would be an inevitably difficult period of social adjustment but confident of benefits to be obtained.

The *Republican* has endeavored to maintain its traditional stand in defense of freedom of speech and other civil liberties, despite bitter attack on it in recent years for so doing. It consistently favored the release of the so-called political prisoners, believing that the record showed them in numerous cases to have been found guilty by the tests of hysteria rather than of law or reason, and that they represented a greater menace, so long as they enjoyed the martyrdom of further imprisonment, than they could if set free. The *Republican* has recognized, however, that freedom of speech must be a relative term and that direct incitement to violence could not be tolerated.

In 1919-20 the *Republican* sharply criticized the so-called Red Raids and spectacular deportations conducted under the régime of Attorney-General Palmer. It shared the opinion courageously expressed by President Hopkins of Dartmouth that in a considerable measure these performances, involving grave abuse of law and legal machinery, were part of Mr. Palmer's campaign for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency. For expressing such opinions the *Republican,* at the time, was itself bitterly abused and warned that it ought to be conducted by "red-blooded Americans." When, in 1924, on the forced resignation of Mr. Daugherty, President Coolidge appointed, as his attorney-general, Harlan F. Stone, dean of the law

school of Columbia University, the *Republican* had reason to feel that it was in as good company as it had been when the Supreme Court, at the close of the Civil War, had unanimously upheld, in deciding the Milligan case, those civil liberties for defending which the *Republican* had been charged with being a "copperhead sheet." For Attorney-General Stone had been most conspicuously identified with the formal registration of precisely such conclusions, attacking the Red Raids and deportations under the Palmer régime, as those which the *Republican* had expressed editorially.

Few topics have led to more bitter attack on the *Republican* than its position on industrial relations. That position was chiefly developed—with notable and courageous liberality—under the third Samuel Bowles and in accordance with his vision of social justice. Dr. Holland had discussed the relations of employees and employers in his lay sermons years before in more general phrases. Late in the life of the second Bowles (1872) the *Republican,* in commenting on the report of a state industrial commission, emphasized the cruelty of existing conditions, but in effect left the remedy to the will of individual factory employers by declaring that such matters were not to be dealt with through legal regulation. It was in the time of the third Bowles that the issue progressively crystallized, as social ideas advanced and the demand grew for legislation fixing a maximum of hours per week for factory workers, particularly for women, and for legislation establishing the workman's right to receive compensation for industrial accidents. In this advance Mr. Bowles caused the *Republican* to be a forceful factor, calling on his editorial staff to make itself strong and authoritative by consistent study.

In consequence of its editorial discussion of industrial

relations and its endeavor to report the facts fully and fairly in its news columns, the *Republican* often has been assailed as socialistic, although at other times attacked as capitalistic. It by no means always has taken the side of labor, as witness its position in the railroad strike of 1922 and the New England telephone strike in 1923. In 1919 it took the position that the strike against the United States Steel Company, although not necessarily wise, was essentially an "old-fashoned" strike for better conditions. The *Republican* found occasion to commend the bitterly assailed Interchurch Report on the strike as helpful to the establishment of the facts, even if not wholly free from error.

The organization of modern business has made necessary many extensions of the power of the Federal government. The *Republican* has urged the grant of such power in numerous cases, but has studied each case by itself. It has abandoned hope of successful action by the individual states only when that hope seemed no longer tenable.

No one was ever more keenly sensitive to the evils of child labor than the third Samuel Bowles. Yet it was his hope that the force of organized public sentiment would be sufficient to bring the backward states into line. In 1907 he caused a comprehensive study to be made by one of the members of the staff of the child labor laws of all the states and of the outlook for progress through state action. He indicated his belief that state action should still be depended on, but left to the lieutenant some freedom in arriving at and stating his own conclusions.

In that year a gathering of those interested in child labor laws, particularly in the Southern states, was scheduled to be held not long after this survey appeared in the *Republican*. It seemed that much might be accom-

plished. But as the years passed the hope of adequate progress proved vain. The *Republican* therefore modified its position. It declared in favor of a national child labor law and of a Constitutional amendment when that proved necessary to make such a law valid.

In this change of position, corresponding to other changes which he had made himself, the third Bowles undoubtedly would have concurred. The course of the *Republican* in regard to woman suffrage was almost identical. The paper was among the first and most earnest advocates, more than fifty years ago. But it held for many years that the right should be conferred by state action. When that course proved long and slow, with hope indefinitely deferred in certain states, the *Republican* again frankly modified its position and advocated the adoption of the amendment to the Constitution.

In 1921 the *Republican* received professional testimony of a somewhat unusual nature as to the continued strength and influence of its editorial page. Greenville Talbott, a Southern editor, conceived the idea of polling various newspaper offices in different parts of the country to obtain their views and votes as to the twelve daily newspapers which would assist him most in interpreting the events of the day. The *Republican* stood high on the list of the twelve papers chosen in this way to compose a select list. The other papers were the *New York World,* the *New York Times,* the *Boston Evening Transcript,* the *Ohio State Journal,* the *New York Sun,* the *New York Tribune,* the *St. Louis Dispatch,* the *Christian Science Monitor,* the *Atchison Globe,* and the *Chicago Tribune.*

In the same year the students of journalism at the University of Illinois conceived the idea of selecting an all-American newspaper team, realizing that there is no

newspaper which can justly claim all that is best in all departments. The *Republican* was chosen as quarterback because of the strength of its editorials. The ten other members of the team and the qualifications which dictated their selection were as follows: The *New York World* for public service; the *New York Times* for news; the *Boston Evening Transcript* for dramatic and literary criticism; the *Ohio State Journal* for editorial paragraphs; the *New York Sun* for feature stories and human interest; the *New York Tribune* for typographical display; the *St. Louis Dispatch* for use of art; the *Christian Science Monitor* for ethics; the *Atchison Globe* for personals; and the *Chicago Tribune* for merchandising and advertising

This recognition was a tribute to the editorial leadership of Mr. Cook and to the strength of his own writing, particularly in the field of economics and politics.

XXIX

RADIO RIVALRY

The radio is the most recent of the innumerable inventions by which, within 100 years, the conditions of newspaper production have been modified. Because the most recent it is the most uncertain as to the limits of its ultimate development.

The radio has been heralded as a rival of the press. To most newspaper men it seems an ally, rather than a rival, in the great business of circulating news. At the record-breaking Democratic National Convention of 1924, in New York, the radio demonstrated new possibilities of instantaneous transmission and the consequent development of public opinion. W. J. Bryan spoke one afternoon in favor of certain candidates. Before the convention had reconvened in the evening, after a three hours recess, delegates had begun to receive telegrams from constituents who urged them to support Mr. Bryan's view. Such an immediate response from distant places could not have been equally promoted by the press. The fact that in this instance Mr. Bryan and his radio-hearers who sent approving telegrams failed to bring the convention to their side does not prove that potent influence may not at times be exercised in this way. But so far as indications could be gathered, the broadcasting of the speeches and the votes of the convention led to more rather than less reading of the reports of the convention which appeared in the press.

In common with many newspapers the *Republican* began early to devote special attention to the radio, both in its week-day issues and on Sunday. It was fortunate in having in its employ, at the time when popular interest in the radio began to spread rapidly, an expert, A. F. Hardwick, who had been called on during the war as an instructor of radio operators. He was thus qualified to give a direction, as radio editor, which was practical as well as authoritative in meeting everyday needs and problems. At first the *Republican* devoted only a page of the Sunday issue to radio news and topics, but in the spring of 1924 began the publication of an eight-page radio section in tabloid form, produced in its own office under Mr. Hardwick's direction.

Springfield is the location of one of the best known broadcasting stations, W B Z. In April, 1924, Waldo L. Cook, the editor of the *Republican,* was invited to broadcast, from W B Z, an address upon the relation of newspapers and the radio. This address so interested the listeners in all parts of the country that an astonishing mass of letters and postals came to the *Republican* in appreciative comment on it. A letter was received from a radio operator in Liverpool who had sat up to 2:30 A. M. He had found that Mr. Cook's speech was more consistently clear than the programs heard at various times from some twenty other broadcasting stations in the United States. Mr. Cook's speech was in part as follows:

As a newspaper editor, I am asked if the newspapers fear the competition of the radio in broadcasting news. The best answer is that a number of newspapers in the United States are already broadcasting news from their own radio stations. A Chicago paper is now broadcasting news bulletins received from all over the world every half hour, day

and night, and it calls the service the "world crier"—an appropriate adaptation of the title, "town crier," once so well known in our New England towns. A St. Louis paper broadcasts all kinds of market reports and news bulletins seven times a day in addition to evening amusement features and religious services on Sunday. A Detroit newspaper performs a similar service at heavy expense.

Instead of injuring the newspapers, the radio has increased their circulation. There is scarcely a newspaper, in the cities at least, that does not run a special radio department daily and this attracts readers among the rapidly increasing army of people who have radio receivers in their homes. This coöperation between the press and the radio industry, which is steadily expanding, could hardly fail to languish if the daily press found its existence or its function in the least menaced by radio's development.

On the day last August that President Harding's death was announced I was on a motor trip in Vermont. In the afternoon I was told in a small rural village, remote from the railroads and all wire communication, that one of the local residents had picked up the news of the President's death early that morning by radio. The incident illustrated the great value of radio communication to the remoter and more inaccessible districts in the transmission of news. Yet, in consequence of the radio bulletin, more newspapers than on ordinary days could have been sold in that town. Every one was eager to read the full story in the press. The radio, in short, by its bulletin service, merely advertised what the newspapers of that day had for sale. Whatever the future development of radio transmission may prove to be, the newspapers seem safe from injury. The radio is already being used, in New York at least, to broadcast commercial advertising and this doubtless has interesting possibilities, yet no competitive form of advertising has thus far seriously threatened the newspaper business. Radio competition must suffer from certain handicaps, for advertisements that are broadcast cannot be given the typographical shadings and

consequently the psychological allurements which distinguish the art of newspaper advertising. Nor can radio advertisements carry pictures of the articles advertised. In printed advertisements there is a calculated appeal to the eye; in radio advertisements the appeal must be confined to the ear.

The news service of a newspaper can never be supplanted by the radio for very practical reasons. It is impossible by the radio broadcasting of news to satisfy the primary news interests of all listeners at once. Some newspaper readers will look first at the sporting page; others at the business and financial page; others at the general news, or front page, others still at the editorial page. If they were to depend on the radio, many of them would find entirely beyond their patience waiting for the particular news that interested them. They want that news at once, and in a newspaper they can get it at once.

While the primary function of a newspaper is to print news, it nowadays gains many readers by its special features in which the art of illustration plays an important part. The radio can carry bedtime stories, but it cannot carry a cartoon or a picture of a fire or of Babe Ruth making a home run.

Finally, newspapers of some age and standing have salient individualities which are the embodiment of their methods in the handling of news, and their editorial attitude on public questions and these are often prized by their readers. It is difficult to conceive of the radio ever developing the individuality which is such a valuable asset to many newspapers in the United States and other countries.

The *Republican* is fortunate in a more effective agency than the radio for "broadcasting" its "salient individuality" to an audience more widely scattered than that reached by its Daily and Sunday editions. This agency is the *Weekly Republican,* which has become an almost unique institution as the weekly editions of other important Eastern papers, one after another, have been discontinued. Its editor is Rev. Dr. Henry Lincoln Bailey,

A recent examination of the mailing sheets of the *Weekly Republican* showed subscribers in every state in the Union, with the exception of Utah, and in thirty-three foreign countries. These readers, who include the editors of many papers in the smaller communities, seem to take it chiefly for its condensed yet thorough covering of the world's news and, more particularly, for its extended editorial interpretation of that news. All this material is selected from the Daily and Sunday editions. The development of the *Weekly Republican* in one hundred years thus completes a cycle. The Weekly of 1924, like the Weekly which the first Samuel Bowles produced in 1824, is again mainly concerned, although under vastly different conditions, with the news of the world at large.

XXX

SPORTING NEWS

Few developments of American journalism are more striking than in the news of sport. Through much of the year the *Republican* now devotes more space to such news than was devoted during the Civil War to news of all sorts, exclusive of editorial comment and miscellaneous reading matter. In this assignment of space the *Republican* is typical. It is an essential feature of an all-round newspaper.

The fact that the American passion for sport is largely an English inheritance is emphasized by the first sporting news in the *Republican*. This was a brief item printed in 1824. It reported that the captain of a British merchantman lying anchored at New York had issued a challenge for a boat race. He was ready with the king's money to back his oarsmen against any others in the harbor. The issue of December 15, 1824, recorded that the boat "American Star" had won, but not how much the British captain had lost.

A study of the sporting news of a century would furnish not only a history of sport itself, but would reflect marked changes in the public attitude and in the technique of newspaper reporting. The outstanding fact is the gradual organization of all forms of sport and the establishment of annual contests which, through the passage of time, have come to be clothed with the romance of tradition. When the *Republican* was founded the English

Derby already had a history of more than a quarter of a century. But it had not gained that recognized pre-eminence as a national institution which is largely attributed to the rise of the English penny press and its circulation of sporting news. In 1829 the first Oxford-Cambridge boat race was rowed, but it was not an established annual event for another quarter century.

In 1823 the famous horse race over the Union Course on Long Island between Eclipse and Henry, representing North and South, was run before a fabulous crowd. In the next thirty years similar races were run on that course and others, and were lent something more than a sporting interest by the growing spirit of bitter rivalry between the sections. The *Republican* watched for the results of these races, and full accounts were reproduced from the New York papers. Probably the first Bowles, serious minded and earnest, would have been shocked if anybody had suggested to him that he should make a trip to New York and then to Long Island just to report a horse race and to rub elbows with a crowd of excited Northerners and Southerners who had bet their boot straps on its outcome. But the *Republican's* shears were wielded with a human sense of what its readers would like to know.

The history of organized sport and of steadily increasing newspaper attention as new forms of athletic competition were developed, is commonly assumed to date back only to the quarter century following the Civil War. Within that period the game of baseball went through an evolution which made it, in all essentials, what it is today. American football took its distinctive form in contrast to the English game, and contests between the colleges became annual events. College boat races witnessed the advance from the six-oared shell rowed without cox-

swain to the eight-oared shell with coxswain; and also became annual. Lawn tennis was introduced from England. The development of the bicycle, with which Springfield had an association of special prominence, offered new possibilities of speed and spectacular rivalry. The breeding and racing of fast horses was given new impetus, particular interest being centered, in New England, in the trotting horse.

In New England races between running horses never have become an established institution, owing, it has sometimes been claimed, to the Puritanic tradition. The assumption that a trotting race is necessarily more moral than a running race might, however, be confronted, out of the files of the *Republican,* with some contrary evidence stamped with New England's authentic seal. For that matter, the New England deacon has frequently developed such tolerance and breadth of vision as to be able to look on his church affairs with one eye and his horse trades with another. Lest a lightly intended reference, carrying a measure of truth, be too severely applied, it should be said that the newspaper reports of "horse trots" over a period of sixty years, are like those of other forms of sport in making diminishing reference to oversharp or dishonest practice and indicate that an increasingly high standard of integrity has prevailed

The development of sport, thus broadly outlined, is vividly reflected in the columns of the *Republican.* But it would surprise the reader to turn back to an issue of sixty years ago and note how much attention could then, on occasion, be given to athletic sports, although the war had not yet drawn to its close and the youth of the country was still largely under arms. In July, 1864, Yale and Harvard rowed against each other on Lake Quinsigamond at Worcester, Massachusetts, resuming a rivalry

on the water that had been begun some ten years before on Lake Winnepesaukee, and which in 1858 would have been fought out on the Connecticut River in Springfield, under the *Republican's* eyes, but for the drowning of a member of the Yale crew during practice. Harvard had won at Quinsigamond in 1859 and 1860, and then had come the war.

In 1864, with victory for the North growing daily more assured, the collegians took to their oars again, and the *Republican* evidently sent a member of its staff to Worcester to report the final struggle. This he did in an article occupying nearly two columns of close-set type. It was written in good English and revealed some study of previous contests. But a sporting editor of to-day who received such a "story," even from a cub reporter, would tear his hair and demand to be told who had wished on him such a misfit apology for a newspaper man.

That "story" of the Worcester race began with a philosophical dissertation on the development of athletics in the colleges and the increasing attention to the physical well-being of the student. It went on to enumerate previous races between Harvard and Yale, with the results and even the names and subsequent military experiences of some of those who had rowed. Not until more than a column and a quarter had been thus filled up did the reporter or editor give any inkling whatever as to who had won the race or how it had been rowed. Nor did he, if he prepared his own copy for the composing room on returning to the office in Springfield, give, in the small and insignificant headlines, any suggestion of a result to which the headlines of to-day would be devoted. Yale's victory was as well concealed as any Harvard man could have wished. When he had read that account next morning, Samuel Bowles may have inquired whether its author

had been to a boat race, or a college library, or where it was warmer. While the *Republican's* chief never could have written a news report in that way himself, it is reflective of newspaper style and prevailing standards that an evidently mature member of his staff could have produced it when sent on a special assignment.

To advance the story nearly a decade, newspaper methods also had advanced when in 1873 "Bob" Cook of Yale returned to the Connecticut at Springfield, where in 1872 he had pulled an oar in the Yale crew that ingloriously finished last. In 1873, by applying what he had learned of English rowing on a hurried trip abroad, Cook placed Yale at "the head of the river" with no less than ten other college crews struggling in the rear. The other crews in their order were Wesleyan, Harvard, Dartmouth, Amherst, Columbia, Bowdoin, Massachusetts Agricultural College, Cornell, Trinity and Williams.

The *Republican* could scarcely have covered that "regatta week" more thoroughly had it been a national convention assembled in Springfield to nominate a party candidate for President. The boat races, with other athletic contests arranged to take advantage of the crowd, had attracted visitors from all New England. There were pretty girls as well as oarsmen; subordinate to both there were leaders in the national life of the day at Washington come to play a minor rôle as spectators. It was a big event to be covered, from a newspaper point of view, in a big way. Apparently the *Republican's* whole staff was put on the job. The morning after the university race, the *Republican* printed a "special Regatta Edition, prepared by ten editors," which contained "a full history of college boating from the beginning, including the results of previous racing, all the preliminaries of this year's races, detailed accounts of the several crews, their

condition and styles of rowing, the rules of the regatta, reports of the several shell races and ball matches and the foot race, during the week of college festivity." The printer's devil must have been the only one left in the office while the race was being rowed. A Yale man, intoxicated by unexpected victory, might have objected at the "lugging" into the account of anything but the blue; but this time the news of Yale's victory was not withheld either from headlines or introduction.

The reporting of 1873 had thus developed notably over that of 1864. But there is a significant contrast to the reporting of athletic events to-day. In 1873 the actual rowing of the race at Springfield was to the newspaper eye only the chief incident. The spectacle as a whole was given much more attention than would now be the case. The spectacle of boat race or football game is not ignored in 1924, but it is obvious that the tendency of recent years has been definitely toward a more and more technically expert account of the event—either boat race, football game or baseball game—with less effort to picture the general show. Occasionally there are evidences of an effort on the part of individual papers to break away from this tendency and of a feeling that it has been overdone. But the fact seems to be that in the passion for athletic sports which attract great crowds, the public has become so familiar with spectacles of the sort that the news of the occasion is more and more confined to the actual contest and its result.

The college oarsmen rowed at Springfield only for a few years. Eleven crews were too many for the river course in 1873, if not for any course, and after "Bob" Cook had won again in 1876 when the first race was rowed with eight-oared shells and coxswains, the various colleges went elsewhere, to Saratoga, New London, and to

Poughkeepsie. But other great events in the world of sport continued for twenty years to be held under the *Republican's* eye, and to be reported by it with the fullness thus required, before Springfield ceased to be recognized as a sporting Mecca. In 1924 the old days have returned with the National Association of Amateur Oarsmen holding its regatta on the Connecticut, as in 1908 and 1905.

Before the college oarsmen first came to Springfield, Hampden Park, once famous the country over, was annually the scene of horse races and of the national horse show. There the fastest horses in the country competed in the 60's over the mile course when the record was still around 2:30 and when Maud S. was yet to be heard of. There the national horse show was held, and there in the 80's, when the bicycle came in, were held for a number of years the chief bicycle races in the country. Those were the days when George M. Hendee, now a retired Springfield capitalist and philanthropist engaged in promoting hospitals for crippled children, was the American champion on the old high wheel, and was Springfield's hero. A little later the safety bicycle came, and Zimmerman, Windle and others, pedaling desperately over the Hampden Park course, broke records and made themselves famous. About the same time Harvard and Yale began to play their annual football game at Hampden Park. There they continued until the sanguinary encounter of 1894 led to a break of two years in diplomatic relations. Since then the two universities have played alternately on their own grounds.

The *Republican* was thus schooled at home to the reporting of races and games, although in later years it has had to follow these into other territory to cover the great events in the sporting world. This it has done to

the best of its ability, sending its now veteran sporting editor, F. J. Collins, who came from Dartmouth in 1904, to world series games, whether these were played at New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, or elsewhere. It has added temporarily to its staff on these occasions such distinguished littérateurs as Manager McGraw of the Giants, "Christy" Matthewson, "Babe" Ruth, and Miller Huggins of the Yankees. On other occasions such penmen as "Jack" Dempsey or "Jack" Kearns have loaned the assistance of their well-trained hands. Pugilism furnishes a legitimate part of the news. Those who sometimes may think it is given a greater space than the *Republican's* tradition suggests, should turn back to the issue of September 2d, 1867, and read on the editorial page the account of the thirty-four-round fight out in Ohio fought with bare knuckles, instead of the gloves of to-day, between Michael McCool and Aaron Jones.

XXXI

THE JOURNALISM OF MAIN STREET

It is a far cry from a city of 150,000, distinguished by a notable civic spirit, to a community such as Sinclair Lewis has identified with "Main Street." Yet for the greater part of a century it has been on Main Street that the editorial windows of the *Republican* have opened. The echoes that come to them from Main Street to-day travel but a stone's throw.

Progress has forced the *Republican* to put on some, at least, of the garments of the metropolis. Rotogravure sections, comic sections, sporting sections, radio sections, each of as many pages as the original Sunday issue in 1878—these are part of the evidence. But in certain aspects it is still a country newspaper, not anxious to conceal that quality, but jealous to retain it. If its history proves anything, it proves that Main Street may have advantages as a place from which to study the world.

The increased value as well as volume of the news received nightly over the wires of the Associated Press, the multiplication of local affairs as Springfield has grown rapidly in size, the pressure of added features —these and many factors equally familiar to other newspapers have made it impossible to print in all the editions of each day's *Republican* quite the same volume of "small-town news" from the hillsides of western Massachusetts that was printed fifteen years ago.

One then had before him a daily chronicle of town and village life which filled two opposite pages. It dealt with all manner of events. They varied from last night's meeting of the selectmen, or the school board, to the visit of a fox in the deacon's henyard. A graduate of the *Republican* who had risen to an executive position on a New York paper used to say that he read those two pages every day to keep in touch with the real bases of human existence so largely lost in the impersonal activities of the great city.

Those were days when "the huckleberry route," as it was dubbed in the office, still flourished. Each Friday the youngest cub reporter, or his immediate senior, made a trip through certain towns where the regular correspondents, adequate for brief daily items, might lack the wings for longer flights in English composition. From these towns it was his duty to gather the material for letters in the *Sunday Republican* dealing with anything as barren as the apple crop in an off year or anything as perennially fruitful as politics.

But city editors—always a race of stern protestants—objected more and more to this weekly commandeering from their forces. Resident correspondents were found, eager to write Sunday letters by the yard. So the "huckleberry route" went the way of all flesh. But winding river and pleasant land are still there. The reporter who, on his own initiative, does not take advantage of his day off to tramp far afield through the valley or over high hills, to visit country fairs and cattle shows in their season, to form contacts of his own with rural New England life, is missing something of his opportunity.

While the march of events has left less space than formerly for small-town items, there still appear daily in the *Republican,* especially in the early or country editions,

many columns of such news which could not find its way into a newspaper truly and completely metropolitan. It is a burden at which the "make-up" man growls as he fills his pages. But it preserves the New England background. The early evening trains from four directions bring in the news envelopes which the suburban correspondents have faithfully delivered to the baggagemen. Soon afterward the telephone hums with later items and presents new problems of pronunciation and spelling, for the population changes and the Poles are taking over numerous farms which the old New England stock can no longer operate.

As for the city in which the *Republican* is published, it has changed as every growing city has changed. The problems of journalism have changed with it. To take an example less trivial and more significant than may appear, the annual charity ball is a thing of the past. No longer is it necessary to devote columns of fine type to describing the individual gowns exhibited in the grand march on that solemn occasion. The funds once raised by the ball are now raised, many times over, by the Community Chest with all the technique of elaborate organization. Other changes are more important, but this, after all, is an index of a social transition. The charity ball was never the perfect emblem of democracy. But to square it with democracy, at least as well as it squared then, would be impossible to-day. Its passing has coincided with increasing social complexities and greater contrasts in wealth. These place on the press an added burden if it is to fulfill its function as the common interpreter through whose efforts understanding, sympathy and effective coöperation are to be maintained among those who find Main Street more crowded, more busy, more prosperous each year.

And yet the metropolis is still years, as well as miles, away. The contacts of life in such a city still differ in degree rather than in kind from the days when it was slowly emerging from the town and everybody knew everybody else. There is a knowledge of men and women, not merely as they express themselves in single spectacular activities, but in the varied interests and obligations of the completed day. When those with special gifts for service and friendship pass from their places there is a sense in the community that they have given it a cement that endures. It is a proper study of journalism to appraise the contributions which such men make to a city not so large but that the influences of many individual personalities may be visibly at work.

These are but some of the phases of a newspaper life which seems more real and normal, because closer to the soil and closer in its fellowship with the life about it, than it can be in the great cities. In a recent issue of *Scribner's Magazine* Arthur R. Kimball, long associated with the *Waterbury American,* has argued the case of the provincial editor, as against the editor of the metropolitan paper, on the ground that the former has the more rounded existence and that he sees life better because he sees it whole.

Elihu Root, when secretary of state, was once discussing the disadvantages of Washington with a representative of the *Republican.* The latter had expressed the opinion that the capital was the worst place in the country from which to judge the current thoughts and movements of the people. Mr. Root weighed the matter. "I will endorse your statement," he said, "if you will accept one amendment, which is that if Washington is the worst, New York is the second worst." Here, perhaps, is something to be set against Main Street and its

provincialism. Possibly there is greater perspective to be had on Main Street than in more crowded places nearer the center of the stage.

There are many who are troubled about the future of American journalism. Some of them feel that, because of economic developments in the great cities, the special demonstration of editorial strength and independence in the coming years must be made in the provincial press. As to this, it is unnecessary to venture an opinion. Those connected with the *Republican* seem to have been more successful, as may have been noted, when they dealt with current events, analyzed history, and left the business of prophecy to others. The present effort has been to tell the story of the paper's development, with some relation, in later phases, to recent tendencies. The outcome of those tendencies and the history of the *Republican* in its second century, which it enters charged with the independent traditions of the first, belong to the future.

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